ALEXANDER CAMPBELL AND MORAL EDUCATION

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
AND THE COMMITTEE ON GRADUATE STUDY OF
STANFORD UNIVERSITY
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
John Lowell Morrison
December 1966

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Richard E. Gross

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

K J Thomas

I certify that I have read this thesis and that in my opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

William A. Clebsch

Approved for the University Committee on Graduate Study:

Virgil K. Whitaker
Dean of the Graduate Division

PREFACE

Some two years ago the author read Robert Frederick West's Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion. Campbell came alive under West's talented pen and this dissertation had its embryonic beginning. Further reading and investigation gave birth to the study of Campbell's ideas on moral education. A skilled group of specialists provided invaluable assistance to the author in his attempt at delivery. Dr. Richard E. Gross (Education Department) graciously consented to lead the team, and from the beginning has given scholarly guidance and encouragement to a fledgling writer. Dr. Lawrence G. Thomas (Education Department) has provided special help in the theoretical and philosophical sections, and his firm but kind hand more than once has guided the topic in the right direction. Dr. William A. Clebsch (Special Programs in Humanities), in addition to his scholarly comments, has patiently performed delicate surgery on chapter drafts. To these helpful hands, the author extends his profound appreciation. He is further indebted to them for their great restraint: in spite of the eagerness with which they always responded in moments of anxiety, delivery was left to the author.

Beyond these three were a host of others who made significant contributions. Dr. George Knowles (History

Department) graciously counseled the author in the preparation of the proposal. The Cubberley and Main Library staffs (Stanford University) made invaluable contributions to the work in both materials and timely services. Practically all of the original and reprinted materials of Alexander Campbell were made available to the author through the courtesy of the library and staff of San Jose Bible College (San Jose, California). Many others have contributed valuable suggestions for the preparation of the text.

The dedication and proficiency of the author's wife, Jean, in typing numerous copies of text have been a source of great aid. Her invaluable experience helped to nurse the project along. The author's children, Gregory and Betty Jo, have patiently endured the long hours involved. The author further offers his gratitude to his father-in-law, B. Ervin Boyce, for financial support which made this enterprise possible. The encouragement of parents, relatives, and friends is gratefully acknowledged.

The offspring is born. It is hoped, of course, that the dissertation deals accurately and interestingly with the subject, but it would humiliate Campbell to find his life's work in education described in so few pages. According to Campbell's formula, however, there is the possibility that the dissertation may contain a good idea or two:

> Alas! this is an age too prolific of authors--of mushroom authors--of books with one idea, and of books without one idea, original or useful. We have many writers of very expansive minds who can convert one drop of water into many gallons of vapor; who can, of one grain of sense, manufacture pounds of nonsense; who can transform some of the primers of our fathers into ponderous tomes of huge dimensions in which a man may read a hundred pages without knowing what the author means. (MH 1846, 404-05)*

It is hoped that the reader will not find too much vapor, nor too much nonsense, in the pages that follow. "What the author means" is this: Alexander Campbell deserves to be seen as a significant man of education on the American scene. It is the author's desire that this dissertation will help to place him in that perspective.

John L. Morrison

Stanford University,
December, 1966.

---

* In order to condense footnotes, the following abbreviations of frequently repeated sources will be used subsequent to the initial footnote. With the exception of Robert Richardson, if an author's name is not mentioned, it is to be assumed that the author is Alexander Campbell.

CB - The Christian Baptist (Alexander Campbell)
CS - The Christian System (Alexander Campbell)
FLP - Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch (Alexander Campbell)
MAC - Memoirs of Alexander Campbell (Robert Richardson)
MH - The Millennial Harbinger (Alexander Campbell)
PLA - Popular Lectures and Addresses (Alexander Campbell)

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

Preface iv

PART I: INTRODUCTION 1

Chapter I: Introduction 2

Section 1: General Purpose of the Study ... 2

Section 2: Specific Purpose of the Study and the Nature of Reporting .. 10

Section 3: Assumptions and Promising Topics 10

Section 4: Sources to be Investigated 12

Section 5: Potential Significance of the Study 12

PART II: THE MAN AND THE BOOK 13

Chapter II: Campbell: The Person, The Issues, and The Mission 14

Section 1: Crying in the Wilderness 14

Section 2: The Sage of Bethany 15

- a. The Person 15
- b. Love of Home 19
- c. Among Family and Friends 22
- d. His Favorite School 23

Section 3: Wrestling with The Issues of The Time 26

- a. Democracy in Print and Proclamation 26
- b. Anglo-Saxon Superiority 28
- c. Race and Slavery 31
- d. The Woman's and the Child's Portion 38
- e. Politics and Preaching 41
- f. Peace and War 46
- g. The Bible and the National Destiny 51

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued) Page

Section 4: The Attack on Tradition 54

a. Religious Kings and Ecclesiastical Castles 54
b. The Weak Walls of Pretense .. 58
c. Sticks and Stones 60

Section 5: Summary 64

Chapter III: The Centrality of the Bible in Campbell's Thought 66

Section 1: The Sufficiency of the Bible ... 66

Section 2: The Bible in Campbell's Life ... 70

a. The Bible in Campbell's Early Life 70
b. The Bible in His Life's Work 76

Section 3: The Nature and Function of the Bible in His Thought and Life. 86

a. The Nature of the Bible: Divine Revelation 86
b. The Function of the Bible: Divine Direction 90

Section 4: Summary 97

PART III: THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS ON MORAL EDUCATION .. 99

Chapter IV: Philosophical-Theological Assumptions Basic to Campbell's Moral Education 100

Section 1: The Attack on Traditional Philosophy 100

Section 2: Campbell's Philosophical-Theological Roots 101

a. The Enlightenment Roots 101
b. The Scottish Common Sense School 104
c. The Limitations of Philosophy and Theology 105

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued) Page

Section 3: Campbell's Basic Philosophical-Theological Definitions 107

a. Man's Nature 107
b. The Godhead 113
c. The Creation and the Universe 120
d. Society 122

Section 4: Sense Experience, Ideas, and Moral Knowledge 125

Section 5: Free Will and Moral Knowledge .. 130

Section 6: The Relation of Man's Powers to Moral Experience 133

Section 7: The Nature of Conversion and Salvation 139

Section 8: Summary 143

Chapter V: The Theory of Campbell's Moral Education 145

Section 1: The Time Was Right 145

Section 2: The Desirability of Moral Education 148

a. The Need for Moral Education: Uniting the Moral and Intellectual 148
b. The Bible and Morality in the Public Schools 154

Section 3: The Goals of Moral Education ... 159

a. The Ultimate Goal of Moral Education: Happiness 159
b. The Supporting Goal of Moral Education: Utility .. 163

Section 4: The Acquisition of Biblical Moral Principles 167

a. Biblical Morality and Inductive Science 167

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued) Page

b. Campbell's Theory of Language 171
c. The Rules of Biblical Interpretation 175
d. The Nature and Sources of Biblical Morality 181

Section 5: Summary 184

PART IV: THE MAN AND HIS MORAL EDUCATION AT WORK ... 186

Chapter VI: The Principles and Practices of Campbell's Moral Education: A Summary of His Ideas on Education 187

Section 1: The Background and General Character of His Recommendations 187

Section 2: The Student and His Educational Development 189

a. The Nature and Strengthening of All Faculties 192
b. Developing the Student's Potential 194
c. The Basic Learning Formula: Precept, Demonstration, and Training 196

Section 3: The Subject Matter 200

a. The Common School Recommendations 200
b. The College and Post-College Level Recommendations 204

Section 4: The Four Teachers 209

a. Mother Nature 209
b. Mother in the Home 210
c. Teacher in the Classroom 212
d. The Person Himself 214

Section 5: Summary 216

TABLE OF CONTENTS (continued) Page

PART V: CONCLUSION 220

Chapter VII: The Finale 221

Section 1: Findings 221

Section 2: Recommendations 225

Section 3: A Final Word 226

Bibliography 227

PART I

INTRODUCTION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTION

1. General Purpose of the Study. Alexander Campbell was a "rugged and unlettered American believer in democracy and liberty," according to Robert West.[1] Campbell's "satire, irony, simplicity of speech, and the analogy of Kingcraft and Priestcraft were choice weapons which he used to arouse the frontier folk of the Jacksonian era of American democracy."[2] His deep interest in the democratic process was acknowledged by Henry Clay who described Campbell as

> a distinguished member, about twenty years ago, of the convention called in the State of Virginia to remodel its civil constitution, in which, besides other distinguished men, were ex-Presidents Madison and Monroe, and John Marshall, the late Chief-Justice of the United States.[3]

At this Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829, ex-President Madison said of Campbell's preaching: "It was my pleasure to hear him very often as a preacher of the gospel, and I regard him as the ablest and most original expounder of the scriptures I have ever heard."[4] In spite of Campbell's opposition to Madison's oligarchical leanings, the ex-President further noted that Campbell was the "greatest man at the convention."[5] Even if Madison exaggerated, Campbell distinguished himself among his contemporaries. In agriculture, he became one of the most progressive, successful, and wealthy farmers in West Virginia.[6] His sixty published volumes testify to his vigorous writing career and popularity.[7] Public speaking took him on domestic and overseas tours. His famous frontier debates earned envy and venom from his contemporaries. As the founder of one of the largest indigenous religious bodies in America, the Disciples of Christ, Campbell stamped his image upon the religious character of the nation.[8] In the field of education, he wrote extensively, campaigned for the "common school," attended educational conventions, and founded Bethany College of which he was president for twenty-five years.[9] Campbell's educational role drew recognition; lacking a college degree, he earned the respectful title of "Doctor," an honor much to his disliking (see II,4,b). Campbell's significant role in education was noted, among other things, by Henry Clay:

---

[1] Robert Frederick West, Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 3.

[2] Ibid., 9.

[3] Robert Richardson, Memoirs of Alexander Campbell (Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Co., 1897), Vol. II, p. 548. Portion of a personal recommendation given by Clay to Campbell on the advent of an overseas trip in 1847. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be MAC; see Preface, vi.

---

[4] Ibid., 313.

[5] Archibald McLean, Alexander Campbell as a Preacher (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, reprinted by Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1955), p. 50.

[6] MAC II, 222-23.

[7] Forty-one of the sixty volumes were in the form of two periodicals listed below:

The Christian Baptist (Nashville: Gospel Advocate Company, 1955). The Christian Baptist was published as a periodical from July 4, 1823 to March 14, 1830. The seven years of periodicals were published from 1827 to 1829 in a seven-volume form. In 1955 the 1827-1829 seven-volume edition was reprinted. In this dissertation, reference will be made only to the 1955 reprint, using for purposes of location the volume number and page. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be CB; see Preface, vi.

The Millennial Harbinger (Bethany, Va: Alexander Campbell, 1830-1864). The Millennial Harbinger had a forty-year history. Alexander Campbell edited and wrote the greater part of the years 1830-1864. W. K. Pendleton edited it during the years 1865-1870. Because of the complex format of The Millennial Harbinger and for purposes of simplification, reference will be made only to the year and page, inasmuch as each year is consecutively numbered and scarcely without variation The Millennial Harbinger is found extant in bound, annual editions. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be MH; see Preface, vi.

> Dr. Campbell is among the most eminent citizens of the United States, distinguished for his great learning and ability, for his successful devotion to the education of youth, for his piety and as the head and founder of one of the most important and respectable religious communities in the United States.[10]

Alger M. Fitch, Jr. recently wrote:

> The decade 1954-64 has witnessed an increased interest on the part of a limited number of scholars in the church reformer Alexander Campbell (1788-1866). The

---

[8] Alger M. Fitch, Jr., "Recent Developments in the Study of Alexander Campbell," Christian Standard (March 13, 1965), p. 3.

[9] His annual Baccalaureate Address at Bethany was always delivered on July 4th, Independence Day, and almost always included the subject of the common school education, an ". . . education patronized, sustained, guarded and controlled by the State." MH 1835, 66.

[10] MAC II, 548. Italics not in the original.

> growing attention to Campbell remains largely within the religious groups influenced by his leadership.[11]

Fitch noted, however, that Campbell's overall contribution to the American scene has been given little attention.[12] Campbell shone no less brilliantly than many others, but he placed less conspicuously on the marquee of American history. His light illuminated, among other things, education on the middle frontier. Campbell believed that "knowledge is power."[13] Whether in the Sunday sermon, the daily classroom, frontier debates, lecture tours, legislative campaigning for common schools, plea for colleges with a moral culture, or copious written polemics, he stressed knowledge.[14] He faced a knowledge-hungry middle frontier. Not always did it sense its hunger nor favorably respond to his diagnosis of "malnutrition." Nevertheless he diagnosed and prescribed; not infrequently the patient listened and sometimes got well.

Campbell sang the religiously critical tune of his time but took exception to some of the skeptical harmony. At times his atonal character--as many others saw it--earned him the enmity of religious friends and the praise of agnostic enemies.

---

[11] Fitch, 3.

[12] Idem.

[13] West, 29; CB IV, 9.

[14] During his early years at Bethany, Campbell taught classes in Intellectual Philosophy, Evidences of Christianity, Moral Science, and Political Economy, not to mention lectures given on certain biblical themes. See MAC II, 485.

> It is not surprising that bitter and hasty critics of Campbell branded him as an infidel, a deist, as well as a Universalist or Unitarian. There is a certain meeting of minds and temper between Campbell and the opponents of revealed religion in their onslaught against traditional Christianity and ecclesiasticism . . . .[15]

5

The meeting of the "minds and temper" that put Campbell in such an awkward position between friends and enemies of Christianity partly revolved around his anticlericism. Campbell could not have expected a prize for diplomacy after his echo of Jefferson: "The clergy have ever been the greatest tyrants in every state, and at the present they are, in every country of Europe, on the side of the oppressors of the people who tramp on the rights of men."[16] He believed that speculative theology and philosophy, the strong arms of the clergy, were erroneous grounds for church doctrine. As he put it, "There is a true and a false philosophy as much and as truthfully as there is a true and a false theology."[17] He thought John Locke right in claiming that most churches required more of man to become a Christian than Christ did! Beyond stepping on the toes of the clergy and kicking the shins of church doctrine, Campbell ridiculed time-honored traditions and customs which availed against reason and/or revelation.

---

[15] West, 45.

[16] CB II, 126.

[17] MH 1857, 484.

Campbell was a certain kind of activist. Using one of Newton's "choice sayings," Campbell complained about Christians who made their "profession of religion a receipt in full for all other obligations."[18] In place of sentimentality and emotionalism--common religious commodities in his day--he advocated common sense.[19] On the other hand, he opposed the churchly oligarchical tendencies in the aristocracy of Virginia; he espoused at this point the Jacksonian individualism of the frontier. In spite of Campbell's two-edged sword, he was confident the brawl he had started was destined for a happy ending.

Campbell shared many views with those who opposed traditional Christianity, but he did not fancy himself in the destructive role of the skeptic. These indiscriminate reasoners failed to distinguish between true Christianity and its many corruptions; corruptions of it were "no argument against its divine origin."[20] The divine ship had to be put on an even keel, not given up! Without universal education that was impossible. Without a literate and intelligent people, religious and political power would "oppress the unchartered ignoramuses which constitute the fearful majority."[21] In no field was Campbell more constructive than in education. Although he was often disappointed in the quality of education, he believed that regardless of its shortcomings, education

---

[18] MH 1836, 33.

[19] West, 52-53.

[20] MH 1832, 311-13.

[21] CB IV, 10.

> is the great insurance company which insures all other insurance companies. . . . The safety of life and the security of property lie in the virtue and intelligence of the people: for what force has law unless there is intelligence to perceive its justice, and virtue to which that law can appeal.[22]

Campbell believed that "moral greatness, moral goodness, moral excellency, and moral happiness are the noble ends" to be attained "by noble means."[23]

While Campbell urged moral education in Virginia, Horace Mann pursued similar objectives in New England.[24] Mann was greater in education, Campbell in religion. It was Campbell, however, who pioneered moral education on the middle frontier by founding Bethany College (Virginia) in 1840. In 1853 Mann, distinguished as a congressional leader and as Massachusetts' architect of the common school, came to little-known Bethany, Ohio, because of his interest in moral education to be the first president of Antioch College, a school affiliated with the Christian Church.[25] He declared that liberal religious principles could more easily enter the West through the Christian Church than through any other group of which he knew.[26] Campbell liked Mann's inaugural address at Antioch College and would have printed all of it in the Harbinger but for copyright restrictions.[27] Sometimes Campbell leaned, perhaps unconsciously, toward Boston in many of his educational views. In 1858 George D. Prentice, editor of the Journal, gave the frontiersman an accolade as the fiftieth anniversary of his arrival in America drew near.

---

[22] MH 1846, 409.

[23] MH 1850, 424.

[24] Mary Peabody Mann, Life of Horace Mann (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1937), pp. 534-35.

[25] George Allen Hubbell, Horace Mann (Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Company, 1910), p. 174. The Christian Church with which Mann was affiliated was one of the three

> Alexander Campbell is unquestionably one of the most extraordinary men of our time. Putting wholly out of view his tenets, with which we of course have nothing to do, he claims, by virtue of his intrinsic qualities, as manifested in his achievements, a place among the foremost spirits of the age. . . . His intellect . . . is among the clearest, richest, profoundest ever vouchsafed to man. . . . Surely the life of a man thus excellent and gifted, is a part of the common treasure of society. In his essential character, he belongs to no sect or party, but to the world.[28]

Prentice painted Campbell rather lavishly, but much remains in Campbell's profile that commands attention; in particular, his views on moral education.

---

sectarian streams that had fed into the Disciples of Christ development (Christian Connection, Christian Church, and New Lights), although this stream was more generally associated with Barton W. Stone, with whom Campbell had much correspondence and many pleasant relations because of their common views and purposes.

[26] B. A. Hinsdale, Horace Mann and The Common School Revival in the United States (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898), p. 269.

[27] MH 1854, 434.

[28] MAC II, 639.

2. Specific Purpose of the Study and the Nature of Reporting. This study will attempt to delineate the major facets of Campbell's views on moral education. To do so, Campbell the man must be understood. His personal life, his views on the issues of his generation, and the unique stand that he took as he began his attack on tradition should serve to introduce the Sage of Bethany.

Since he was a Christian religious leader, the relevance of the Bible to moral education will be investigated. Further, before a theory of moral education can be stated, the philosophical and theological assumptions which affected Campbell's moral education must be summarized. Once these are established, it is possible to analyze the desirability, the goals, and the methodology of Campbell's theory of moral education.

A study will also be made of Campbell's educational principles and practices centering on the student, the subject matter, and the teacher. Finally, Campbell's views will be summarized, conclusions drawn, and recommendations made.

3. Assumptions and Promising Topics. Campbell was a certain kind of religious theocrat; he saw every string of life and thought tied to his "Christian system." Therefore, his religious ideas paced his educational perspective; this theme permeates the research and writing of this dissertation. Since Campbell was an educator as well as an educational writer and thinker, his educational prac-

tices also will provide insight into his educational views.

Because Campbell synthesized education with religion, several promising topics will be investigated. Campbell believed that the Bible was the source of man's moral standards; however, the mind had to be properly trained to perceive biblical morality. Besides a generally disciplined mind, biblical understanding could be enhanced by abandoning needless and corrupting religious dogmas and human creeds; rational and commonsense rules of interpretation would suffice. Campbell convinced himself that no one should really object to a rational, nonsectarian study of the Bible in the classroom. Further, since intellectual culture was a prerequisite to and companion of moral education, the classroom teacher would shape the moral destiny of children even more than the minister--given Campbell's generally low opinion of the clergy, so much the better.

With a biblically based moral education calling for the integration of moral and intellectual culture, and with the teacher, not the minister, shaping the mental and moral character of the young, the restoration of primitive Christianity, Campbell's lifelong desire, was a more realistic possibility. Biblical morality, wrested from corrupted clerical trustees and put into the care and keeping of the common schools (and other types as well), could bring about a unity of Christians outside the walls of denominational Christendom. After all, the Bible did not make sectarians, only Christians, which was all Campbell wanted to make.

4. Sources to be Investigated. Data for the research will come mainly from the following sources: (1) historical and biographical material related to Campbell's life; (2) Campbell's journals and books which indicate his theological, philosophical, historical, and educational ideas; (3) analyses that highlight particular facets of Campbell's thought; (4) materials related to the development of religion and/or education on the middle frontier and the development of the Disciples of Christ; (5) Enlightenment and Scottish Common Sense School philosophical resources; (6) works and analyses of contemporaneous moral educators; and (7) general reference materials.

5. Potential Significance of the Study. The main significance of this study lies in uncovering Campbell's ideas on moral education. In so doing, another stone in the development of American pragmatic thought in education will be upturned, for the study will show that Campbell, though a supernaturalist, was quite pragmatically oriented (see VII,1). In particular, the study will provide an old look at educational issues which still remain contemporary, namely: (1) the implications of teaching the Bible in the public classroom, (2) the character of "utility" and "happiness" as goals in education, (3) the integration of moral and intellectual culture, and (4) the role and responsibility of the school in the moral endowment of the child.

PART II

THE MAN AND THE BOOK

Chapter II

CAMPBELL:
THE PERSON, THE ISSUES, AND THE MISSION

1. Crying in the Wilderness. Alexander Campbell immigrated with his mother, brothers, and sisters to the United States from Ireland and Scotland in 1809, two years after his father, Thomas, had come to Eastern Pennsylvania to prepare the way. The Campbells were a hardy lot; their Seceder Presbyterian background had endowed them with a strong sense of individualism and it was not long in expressing itself in the New World. Anonymity on some isolated frontier homestead was not to be their lot. In particular, it was not to be the fate of one son, Alexander. He and his father shared religious dreams which took root and blossomed in the fertile sectarian soil of America. They joined the religious controversy on the middle frontier and their intellectual swords cut a broad path in the thinking of men. In one sense, Thomas Campbell was the sword bearer; Alexander, the warrior.

Dubbed a "modern Goliath" and a "giant errorist," Alexander hit often and hit hard.[1] While his adversaries--the Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians--rocked and reeled under his relentless attack, he built his own army--

---

[1] Walter Brownlow Posey, Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier (Louisiana State University Press, 1965), pp. 54, 62.

the Disciples of Christ--out of the flood of deserters from his enemies' camps. He was confident he could do it and not surprised when he did. To a large sectional and ultimately national audience he expressed views on almost every major social, political, and religious issue, and with a small, inconspicuous congregation in Bethany, West Virginia, he shared his simple and retiring concern on Sundays.

Alexander Campbell was both prophet and priest. In the wilderness of American sectarian life, the prophet found the threads of primitivism which he skillfully wove into a religious institution. In the temple of American sectarian life, the priest officiated over a vigorous housecleaning that turned many of the tables of tradition. After the performance of prophet and priest, things were different. His opposition labeled him "destructive"; his friends, "constructive," because he had broken the shackles of "sectarianism."[2] Vigorous, ambitious, intelligent, and perceptive, Alexander Campbell skillfully guided an embryonic religious revolt into a reform, or, as he preferred to call it, a restoration of the "ancient order of things."

2. The Sage of Bethany.

a. The Person. If we are to believe his "loyal opposition," Campbell's personal appearance was not nearly as overpowering as his pen and wit, although he was

---

[2] Ibid., 70.

"muscular, without fleshiness; . . . well-formed, and in every way well proportioned." The "remarkable vigor of mind and physical energy, . . . the manifest power in his face, [and] the kindly humor which was wont to twinkle under his eyebrows" gave him a commanding appearance.[3] Moses E. Lard, with his typically objective evaluation, noted that Campbell's face was "hard" but "noble," his eyes giving the appearance of "great sharpness and penetration . . . from which you a little shrank."[4]

Campbell managed his farm at Bethany, a gift from his father-in-law, John Brown, with "marked success." His vigorous literary career did not permit him to work on the farm, but his supervision proved sufficient. Investments in real estate in Ohio and Illinois further increased his wealth, not to mention revenue from the sale of his numerous publications. His initial and sustaining wealth came from the farm, however. His comfortable home, in which he graciously entertained, was not extravagant for a man of Campbell's means.[5] In the detached and picturesque hexagonal study he did most of his writing.

---

[3] _Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch; Delivered before the Morning Class of Bethany College, During the Session of 1859-60, Also Short Extracts from His Sermons during the Same Session, To Which is Prefixed A Brief Sketch of President Campbell's Life_ (W. T. Moore, ed., 1871; Rosemead, Calif.: Old Paths Book Club, 1958), p. 47. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be _FLP_; see Preface, vi.

[4] Moses E. Lard, _Lard's Quarterly_ (Lexington, Ky.:[n.n.], 1866, reproduced by Old Paths Book Club, Kansas City, Mo., 1950), Vol. III, p. 256.

[5] _MAC_ II, 657-60.

Moses E. Lard judged Campbell "a fine scholar, but not a profound one."[6] Campbell himself often remarked how unfinished and unsystematic his work was. In publishing the memoirs of his father, Campbell regretted that "it had to be dispatched in too much haste to satisfy my own intention and desire. But . . . I have done the best I could" under the circumstances.[7] Campbell suspected his satirical vein and, according to Richardson, often read his manuscripts to Mrs. Selina Campbell to rid them of some of their harshness. Richardson reported that Campbell discontinued The Christian Baptist in 1829 and started publishing The Millennial Harbinger partially because he preferred a milder-toned chronicle.[8] The Christian Baptist had been designed to awaken the Christian world to the evil of clerical despotism, ecclesiasticism, and all their attendant evils. The Millennial Harbinger was slanted toward showing "the incompatibility of any sectarian establishment, now known on earth, with the genius of the glorious age to come."[9]

Although highly opinionated, Campbell was not an inflexible dogmatist. He could bend with the times. In 1830 Campbell viewed the millennium as just around the corner, but his optimism was soon tempered. West pointed out that "by 1843 Campbell's eschatology had softened."[10] Although he remained generally aloof from the Millerite and similar millennial controversies, he nevertheless believed that the millennium had actually commenced to the extent that the church prepared the world for the second coming of Christ. Such preparation had taken the form of a "restoration of ancient christianity . . . to fill the world with a happiness, physical, intellectual and moral, which beings like us in this state of trial could . . . enjoy."[11] Still later, in 1864, with no less enthusiasm but with greater maturity, Campbell cautiously warned that

---

[6] Lard, 261.

[7] Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell Together With a Brief Memoir of Mrs. Jane Campbell (Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1861), p. iv.

[8] MAC II, 284-85, 302.

[9] MH 1830, 1.

> we need to be reminded, in tones of tenderness, coming as from the world renouncing agonies of the cross, that *we, the people of the living God are not of the world*. . . . Let us not forget the weapons of our warfare, nor distrust the wisdom and power of our Leader.[12]

The closest Campbell ever came to playing the hazardous game of dating the millennium took place in

---

[10] West, 212.

[11] Alexander Campbell and Robert Owen, *The Evidences of Christianity: A Debate Between Robert Owen of Lanark, Scotland and Alexander Campbell, President of Bethany College, Va., containing An Examination of the "Social System" and All The Systems of Skepticism of Ancient and Modern Times* (Bethany, 1829, reprinted by McQuiddy Printing Company, Nashville, 1946), p. 416.

[12] *MH* 1864, 4.

1858 when he told his audience they were "standing upon the experience of 5862 years, lacking only 138 years of the Millennial Age."[13] As West suggested, it was a weary Campbell, tired by a hard life of activity and discouraged by the gathering war clouds, who postponed the millennium.[14]

> Darkness and tempest are round about the habitation of His Throne, and the aspects of the future for the church are darkly militant. For forty years we have been not an unfaithful nor an unwatchful sentinel upon the walls of Zion, and we had, with perhaps unwarranted fondness, cherished the hope of closing our service beneath peaceful and hopeful skies. . . . The times are full of corruption . . . .[15]

b. Love of Home. Immediately after his marriage to Margaret Brown in March 1811, Alexander Campbell moved to her paternal home along the banks of the Buffalo Creek in western Virginia at what is now known as Bethany. He lived there for over half a century, endeared to its seclusion and beauty and magnetically drawn back to it after each of his many adventurous, though exhaustive preaching and lecturing tours.

Campbell loved the western country of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Kentucky, and always spoke affectionately of the "new western world" and of the "magnanimous pioneers" who had come into western Virginia to settle it years earlier. The land they had conquered was

---

[13] MH 1858, 422.

[14] West, 214; MH 1860, 121-31.

[15] MH 1864, 3-4.

"overspread with bleating flocks of sheep or lowing herds of cattle, interspersed with beautiful villas and romantic hamlets" which were like "trophies of a bold adventure, of successful enterprise, and the imposing evidence of industry, morality and good taste."[16] The same Rousseau whom Campbell placed among perverted geniuses of the French Revolution exemplified the spirit of Campbell's love for nature and the earth.[17] Prior to the founding of Bethany College in 1840, Campbell described the location of the college as ideal.

> There is no exaggeration in saying that a healthier soil or a purer air is not within the United States, than is around this location. During my residence of 29 years no epidemic has ever prevailed in this vicinity . . . .
>
> Our rich calcareous hills . . . clothed with lofty forest timber of great variety and stateliness, give . . . the most delightful scenery, . . . afford us the most genial currents of the purest air, and streams and fountains of . . . delicious water. The soil, too, . . . is favorable to all the grains and fruits . . . .[18]

The moral climate was also much to Campbell's liking: "I believe there is not a more moral county in America . . . and often our grand jury has met and dispersed without a single presentment."[19] The remoteness of Bethany tended to minimize some of the problems with slavery.

---

[16] Popular Lectures and Addresses (Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, 1863, reprinted by Standard Publishing Company, [n.d.]), p. 175. This volume contains some of Campbell's popular addresses, apart from his debates and sermons. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be PLA; see Preface, vi.

[17] MH 1839, 13-14.

[18] MH 1840, 60-61.

> Again, as respects the unfortunate controversy between slavery and anti-slavery, we are, perhaps on the most neutral ground, as a county, that could well be imagined. We are in a slave state, it is true; but almost literally without slaves.[20]

Twenty-two years later, in the midst of the Civil War, the prophet happily reported that

> We have enjoyed, throughout the sad and distressing agitations and perils of the country, the fullest exemption from disturbance or annoyance of any kind, and the prospect for the future presents no fear of any interruption to our present peace and social harmony. No location can promise circumstances more favorable . . . than at present favor . . . Bethany College.[21]

During his wearisome tour of England and Scotland in 1847 (see II,3,c), Campbell longed to return to the "hills around Bethany" and envied the "lot of those I left behind me, compared with that of the millions through which I am passing in this Old World of palaces and hovels, of princes and beggars, of exuberant wealth and cheerless poverty."[22] He spoke of France, Europe, and even England as participating in "an inheritance of miseries and misfortunes from which neither the wisdom of politicians nor the benevolence of Christians can rescue them for generations to come!"[23]

---

[19] Ibid., 61.

[20] Idem.

[21] MH 1862, 333.

[22] MH 1847, 552.

c. Among Family and Friends. Death was a frequent visitor to the Campbell household. A year after the decease of his first wife, Margaret, in October 1827, Campbell married Selina Bakewell, a dear friend of his first wife. From the two marriages came fourteen children; only four survived Campbell, all from his second marriage. During his domestic and foreign travels, Campbell's familial interest expressed itself in his affectionate and frequent letters to his daughters and his wife Selina.[24] He was "kind and considerate," and, when home, "was the most persistent man in religious instruction of his family" that any of his neighbors had ever known.[25] Although some judged him "modest and unassuming," Campbell was something of a celebrity. He attracted throngs everywhere he went and carried on an almost endless monologue. It was reported that "nobody wished to talk in his presence. His themes were much out of the range of ordinary conversation . . . ."[26] When he preached, he minimized enthusiasm and emphasized logic (see II,4,c). He seldom appealed to pathos or tenderness but, as his contemporaries put it,

---

[23] Ibid.

[24] MAC II, 457-60.

[25] FLP, 43; MAC II, 301; MH 1847, 517-31, 624-32.

[26] FLP, 44.

"He was clear."[27] His biblical mastery and literary knowledge commanded the respect of his contemporaries. The dry, factual style in which he both wrote and spoke prompted Moses E. Lard to complain: "He never vivified them [facts], and made them sparkle with the bright light of genius as they left his hand." Lard regretted that Campbell often "seemed to invest his efforts, whether written or spoken, with the appearance of the poetic and imaginative. But he has left us hardly a genuine trace of either upon record."[28] Lard supposed that if Campbell had written biographical history, he "would have shown . . . men's faces; but they would have been the expressionless faces of men as seen beneath the coffin lid."[29] In spite of this shortcoming--perhaps because of it--Campbell's journalism and public speaking appealed to the eyes and ears of a sizeable audience enamored with his unpoetic efforts.

d. His Favorite School. In 1818 Campbell, assisted by his father Thomas, established Buffalo Academy at what is now Bethany, West Virginia. Although overflowing with pupils, the Academy disbanded in 1823, foreshadowing publication of The Christian Baptist.[30] The name "Buffalo," changed to "Bethany" in 1826, signaled Campbell's appointment as postmaster, a great convenience to him since his publications and correspondence constituted the bulk of mail handled in the community.[31] Richardson commented:

---

[27] Lard, 258.

[28] Ibid., 259.

[29] Ibid., 258.

[30] MAC II, 49-50.

> This was highly advantageous to him in many ways. Being appointed postmaster, he enjoyed the franking privilege, and was enabled to extend his correspondence.[32]

The most singularly important event in Campbell's life took place in 1840--the founding of Bethany College. From the beginning, the topic of education had filled the pages of The Christian Baptist. For ten years (1830-1840) The Millennial Harbinger had carried essays on "the inadequacy of all the present systems of education, literary and moral, to develop the powers of the human mind, and to prepare man for rational and social happiness."[33] In 1840 the school so long projected in writing, campaigning, and preaching came into being. The bold headline in The Millennial Harbinger read:

> PLAN OF A LITERARY, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS SCHOOL; OR THE UNION OF FOUR INSTITUTIONS IN ONE--THE COMBINATION OF THE FAMILY, THE PRIMARY SCHOOL, THE COLLEGE, AND THE CHURCH IN ONE GREAT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION.[34]

The comprehensiveness of Campbell's educational concept was immediately evident. The Primary School, when finally

---

[31] Ibid., 180-81.

[32] Ibid., 181.

[33] MH 1830, 1.

[34] MH 1840, 60.

5

launched, proved unsuccessful.[35] All that survived the first few years was the College. The gradual and steady growth of Bethany College was interrupted only by a disastrous fire in 1857[36] and by the normal difficulties faced during war.[37] Even so, Campbell regarded Bethany as comparatively well off during the war (see II,2,b). Bethany College was never designed to be a seminary or theological school[38] (see VI,3,b) since it offered a classical and religious education at the undergraduate level. He hoped, of course, that many of the men would go into the ministry as educated men. That most of the graduates of Bethany College went into law and medicine was not altogether out of harmony with Campbell's philosophy of education.[39] When on the scene, he lectured daily on the Bible and related religious and moral topics.[40] His tours and lectures often interrupted his teaching at Bethany and in his latter years he limited his work to the presidency and to tours on behalf of the school. The Sage of Bethany served the school from 1840 until his death in 1866. Lard pictured Campbell at Bethany surrounded by "a few highly cultivated and gifted friends, as professors in his beloved college. . . . The pride of his life was thus passed in the lap of his own romantic hills."[41]

---

[35] MAC II, 535.

[36] MH 1858, 93-96.

[37] MAC II, 642.

[38] MH 1840, 176-79.

[39] West, 196.

[40] FLP, 36-38.

3. Wrestling With The Issues of The Time.

a. Democracy in Print and Proclamation. However harsh against his opponents in his publications, Campbell nevertheless invited those he attacked to respond. He believed that the overthrow of religious error could be served better by considering all viewpoints, not by presenting only one side of any issue. A less confident man might have shrunk from such an approach; his contemporaries testify that this was not one of his weaknesses. His motto: "Hear both sides, and then judge."[42]

Campbell believed that those who understood his position regarding the New Testament would accept it. In religious matters, people must judge for themselves and allow others the same privilege. The free market of ideas would prevail. The preface of The Christian Baptist of 1823 announced that should the paper introduce "facts and documents" that were not "true or genuine, owing to a variety of causes," Campbell would correct errors by giving space "to any statement, decently written, tending to disprove any such alleged facts."[43] In 1846, after twenty-three years of publication, Campbell confidently claimed that "we have uniformly and without a single exception, given to our readers both sides of every question upon religion, morality or expediency, that has appeared upon our pages."[44] He included in his periodicals a number of his running debates with various denominational leaders and skeptics. Campbell asked his readers to give "an impartial and patient hearing," promising "that we shall neither approve nor censure any thing without the clearest and most satisfactory evidence from reason and revelation."[45]

---

[41] Lard, 264.

[42] MH 1851, 226; MH 1830, 170.

[43] CB I, vii.

Public debating was another medium in which Campbell valued the exchange of ideas. Lard called him "the champion of Christianity in America" because of his debate with Robert E. Owen.[46] Walter B. Posey said he "brilliantly defended Christianity against the champion of skepticism."[47] Campbell attacked "the arrogant and hollow pretensions of Roman Catholicism" in his debate with Bishop Purcell.[48] The "baseless tenets of Protestantism were put to the test" in the Campbell-Rice debate.[49]. Two lesser debates with W. L. MacCalla (Seceder Presbyterian Minister of Augusta, Kentucky) and John Walker (Seceder Presbyterian of Mount Pleasant, Ohio) amply display his readiness to exchange ideas. The aggressive Campbell "thrived on expeditions into enemy territory."[50] Posey reported that a debate with Campbell was refused by a Thomas Cleland because he feared "certain defeat; sharing the same fate of . . . all other writers of the brotherhood."[51]

---

[44] MH 1846, 4; CB I, ix.

[45] CB I, x.

[46] Lard, 269.

[47] Posey, 53.

[48] Lard, 269.

[49] *Ibid*.

b. Anglo-Saxon Superiority. Though opposed to much of the ecclesiastical formalities of American Protestantism, Campbell was still very much in tune with its spirit. He asserted that

> The very word PROTESTANT implies thought, examination, dissent and self-reliance. . . . The Protestant Reformation, notwithstanding all that can be said against it, was the regeneration of literature, science, art, politics, trade, commerce, agriculture.[52]

Campbell aligned Protestantism with the Anglo-Saxon heritage. In an address in 1849 on "The Anglo-Saxon Language, Its Origin, Character and Destiny," he glowingly described all the achievements of the Anglo-Saxon, paying particular attention to the language which was "that ethereal instrument, that spiritual symbol, by which one spirit operates upon another, in simultaneously producing views, feelings and emotions, corresponding with its own."[53] The Anglo-Saxon language, blessed more than any other because it had drawn upon all other languages, had within it a greater diversity of sentiment and emotion.[54] It "directly, clearly, fully and impressively utter[ed] all the soul" desired.[55] The language was the mind of a people. The Anglo-Saxon had the best mind because everyone envied it. Germany, France, Prussia, and Russia had intellectual accomplishments but did "homage to the Anglo-Saxon mind . . . [not only] by transferring their works into our language," even as we do theirs, but by "laying aside their own sciences, arts and inventions, and in adopting ours."[56] The language was better, therefore the mind was better.

---

[50] Posey, 66.

[51] Ibid., 53-54.

[52] PLA, 32.

To Campbell seven factors suggested the secure future of the Anglo-Saxon language: (1) the energy of those who spoke it, (2) the number of those who did and would speak it, (3) the extensive and beneficial geography then occupied by Anglo-Saxons, (4) the commercial power of those who spoke it, (5) the great discoveries and inventions as well as the sciences of those who "treasured it in that language," (6) the religion of those who spoke it, and (7) the missionary spirit then prevailing in the Anglo-Saxon world which would spread the heritage around the globe.[57]

---

[53] Ibid., 18.

[54] Ibid., 33-34.

[55] Ibid., 30.

[56] Ibid., 31.

In an 1852 address on "The Destiny of Our Country," Campbell emphasized that his views on Anglo-Saxon superiority were not to be interpreted as racism. Britain and the United States were favored "not so much [because of] . . . soil or climate, or national superiority, or blood, as . . . [because of] the fact that these are the lands of Bibles and of Protestantism."[58] The conclusion was evident: the Bible, coupled with the Protestant posture of biblical inquiry, distinguished the Anglo-Saxon from any other race.

Campbell anticipated Charles Darwin's claim of Anglo-Saxon superiority by some nineteen years. In The Descent of Man (1871), Darwin proposed that natural selection accounted for the phenomenon of development.[59] Campbell, of course, had laid the cause to divine election via the Bible, not natural selection. In 1885, Josiah Strong claimed in Our Country the vast hereditary superiority of the Anglo-Saxons, quoting at length from Darwin.[60]

---

[57] Ibid., 35.

[58] Ibid., 171. In a Baccalaureate Address, 1852, Campbell stated: "'Tis therefore education, and not birth or blood, makes the man." MH 1852, 364.

[59] Charles Darwin, "On The Races Of Man," The Descent of Man (Great Books of the Western World, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1952), pp. 342-63.

[60] Josiah Strong, Our Country (New York: The Baker &

Strong concluded, with Campbell, that Anglo-Saxon superiority was due to the spirit of Protestantism.[61] For Campbell

> no event in the future, next to the anticipated millennial triumph, appears more natural, more probable, more practicable or more morally certain and desirable, than this Anglo-Saxon triumph in the great work of human civilization and redemption.[62]

c. Race and Slavery. Campbell was antislavery but not abolitionist.[63] He disliked slavery and advocated emancipation, having freed some few slaves on his own farm.[64] He sharply criticized "the most cruel oppression" by the institution of slavery because it separated "the wife from the embraces of her husband, and the mother from her tender offspring . . . and that, forsooth, because '*might gives right*' and a man is held guilty because his skin is a shade darker than the standard color of the times."[65] Campbell risked imprisonment for interposing his person on behalf of some Negro children.

> In 1841, a teacher of a small school in Bethany was requested by some citizens to receive the colored children into her school. Knowing that to be a penal offense in Virginia, she demurred; but the noble-hearted Campbell volunteered to come between

---

Taylor Co., 1885), pp. 159-80; reprinted John Harvard Library, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

[61] *Ibid*., 170, 176.

[62] *PLA*, 45.

[63] *MH* 1845, 358.

[64] *MAC* I, 502; *MH* 1847, 630; *MH* 1845, 259.

[65] *CB* I, 18.

> her and the law if any fine was imposed, whereupon the teacher yielded to the wishes of the friends of the colored children, and they were taught six months unmolested.[66]

In the first year of The Millennial Harbinger (1830), he proposed, among nine other things, to prepare "disquisitions upon the treatment of African slaves, as preparation for their emancipation."[67] As a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention in 1829, Campbell had pressed hard against slavery as an institution, especially when it was used to secure more representative votes in the legislature. He argued that "the right of suffrage . . . is not a right derived from or conferred by society, for it is a right which belongs to him as a man" and should have nothing to do with the wealth of a person.[68] In 1832, he called Virginian slavery an "evil" but "more in the light of being a misfortune rather than a sin."[69]

In 1845-46 Campbell presented his definitive thinking on the relationship of the church to the slavery issue. A fear that the gathering clouds of sectionalism arising out of the slavery problem might split the ranks of the Disciples of Christ into northern and southern divisions troubled Campbell. He contended that the church should not decide or agitate on the slavery issue since it was a matter of civil responsibility. For this opinion he was attacked; by it he prevented a division within the Disciples of Christ on the issue of slavery. Few churches escaped such a fate,[70] and Campbell made good his boast that "we are the only religious community in the civilized world whose principles (unless we abandon them) can preserve us from such an unfortunate predicament."[71]

---

[66] FLP, 39.

[67] MH 1830, 1.

[68] MAC II, 311.

[69] MH 1832, 86-93; A. T. DeGroot, Disciple Thought: A History (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1965), p. 161.

> Again, it may be as lawful and expedient to form an Abolition, or a Liberty, or a Pro-Slavery party, as to form a party known by the designation Whig or Democrat, Aristocrat or Republican. But I have before shown, and again repeat, that Christian union and communion are not in the least to be affected by such parties, any more than by any other political denominations.[72]

Slavery, then, was not to be a "term of communion."[73] And it worked--not without some difficulty. Campbell argued that slavery was a matter of opinion. In opinion there was to be liberty; only in essentials was there necessity for unity. Pessimistic about the prevention of war between the States, Campbell optimistically emphasized in 1846 that "there will be no division in our ranks on that question [slavery]. . . . I presume on this as on other subjects of human opinion . . . we shall be able to maintain unity of spirit in the bonds of Christian peace, amity, love and holy co-operation."[74] Campbell insisted, however, that he would continue to deal with political and moral grievances in The Millennial Harbinger.[75] Garrison and DeGroot summarized Campbell's position on slavery:

---

[70] Winfred Ernest Garrison and Alfred T. DeGroot, The Disciples of Christ, A History (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958), pp. 330-37.

[71] MH 1845, 51.

[72] Ibid., 194.

[73] Ibid., 195.

> Briefly put, Mr. Campbell's position was (a) Slavery is not condemned in the Bible; therefore slavery is a matter of opinion, not of faith, and slaveholders as such should not be excluded from the church. (b) Slavery, in practice, is economically and morally dangerous; therefore, Christians may properly oppose it. (c) Christian unity is more important than political agreement.[76]

Probably the most difficult moment for Campbell on the whole slavery issue occurred in 1847, strangely enough, during his tour of Scotland. The Reverend J. Robertson of Belfast, an antislavery advocate, challenged him to a debate on slavery.[77] Campbell replied that since he did not have time during his tour to debate the issue, his printed material would have to answer Robertson.[78] After Campbell's arrival in Scotland, The Scotch Anti-Slavery Society followed him about,[79] agitated for public meetings, and in general made life miserable for him. Then Robertson preferred charges of libel against Campbell and had him imprisoned in Glasgow.[80] "I was incarcerated because of mere speculative and doctrinal dissent from the opinion of a certain class of anti-slavery men. My liberty was taken away by 'liberty men.'"[81] The charge was judged insubstantial.[82] Robertson was ordered to pay the court costs, and Campbell returned home, followed by a host of apologetic letters.[83]

---

[74] MH 1846, 6.

[75] MAC II, 643.

[76] Garrison and DeGroot, 331.

[77] MAC II, 553-54.

[78] MH 1847, 633-37.

[79] Ibid., 627.

Unshaken by this episode, Campbell defended the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 because it was the law of the land. Somewhat taken back by the violence that engulfed the country over the issue, he remarked:

> But that any one well-instructed in the christian religion could recommend violence, or insubordination to a law, passed by a Congress that merely represents and reflects the will of the people, is, to me, rather an unexpected development.[84]

The law was constitutional because the fourth article of the federal constitution supported it.[85] Since this slave-master relationship was not unscriptural,[86] although

---

[80] Ibid., 625.

[81] MAC II, 564.

[82] MH 1847, 644-45.

[83] MAC II, 564-66.

[84] MH 1851, 27.

[85] Ibid., 30.

[86] MH 1840, 97-103.

Campbell had earlier described the "many-headed monster" as a "blighting and blasting curse,"[87] the law was not immoral and thus should be supported by the Christian. To violate the law was unchristian because Paul had urged Christians "to be subject to the higher powers."[88]

> If this was christian wisdom, prudence, justice and humanity, in those days, and under a Roman emperor and his suit of provincial governors, _is it not so now amongst christianized American citizens, under the men of their own choice_?[89]

If the people did not like the law, Campbell argued, "it will be repealed, if the good sense of the great majority so direct."[90]

Although the Indian problem did not have the implications for the church that the slavery problem had, Campbell nevertheless was repulsed by the unfairness of their deprivation. In 1830 he had criticized Georgia for maintaining the "right to seize the property and exile or banish the owner, because he is red, or yellow, or some other unfashionable color" and questioned whether it was "the right of the strong always to plunder the property and insult the person of the weak."[91] The disposition of the Cherokee Indian was the issue. Campbell quoted extensively from a "Mr. Garrison, junior editor of the Genius of Universal Emancipation" who, concluding his short analysis of the problem facing Georgia, stated: "In fine, their [Cherokee] forcible removal would brand this country with eternal infamy, and expose it to the accumulated vengeance of heaven."[92] Campbell stressed the importance of Garrison's comments with this advice:

---

[87] _MH_ 1832, 86.

[88] _MH_ 1851, 27-32.

[89] _Ibid._, 28.

[90] _Ibid._

[91] _MH_ 1830, 44-45, 257-58.

> I humbly trust there is yet so much justice, so much pure republicanism, so much regard to truth and national faith, in the bosoms of the American people and of their representatives in congress, as will not permit them to give up an innocent and harmless nation to the cupidity of a few capitalists in Georgia or any where else.[93]

Late in 1852 while on one of his extensive tours, Campbell brought home to Bethany an Indian boy from an Iowa tribe, who lived with the Campbells for eight to nine years, during which time, according to Richardson, he received a "pretty good knowledge of the elementary English branches, and could read and write with readiness."[94] Upon reaching adulthood, the Indian returned "to the West to obtain his share of the lands allotted to his tribe." According to Richardson, correspondence indicated that the Indian appreciated Campbell's kindness on his behalf.[96]

---

[92] Ibid., 45-46.

[93] Ibid., 46.

[94] MAC II, 597-98.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

What little Campbell wrote about Indians indicated that he did not consider them inherently inferior. Education made the difference.

> All that lies between barbarism and the highest civilization, all that distinguishes the rude American Indian and the most polished citizen, the barbarian and the Christian, has been achieved by the learning, the science, the arts, the religion and the morals which colleges have nourished, cherished and imparted to the world.[97]

d. The Woman's and the Child's Portion. Women occupied an important area in Campbell's social thinking. "Woman, with me, is to society what the spirit is to the body; for as the body without the spirit is dead, society without woman is dead also."[98] Campbell conceded woman to be the weaker vessel, "but in this her weakness are found some of the main springs of her power."[99] He admired her sensitivity to matters of faith and virtue. All history proved that "female piety is larger in quantity as well as of a finer quality than that of man."[100] (See VI,4,b).

Women needed education. Campbell criticized the caliber of education generally received by women and advocated that "the standard of female education . . . be greatly elevated and improved."[101] Concern for her sentiments, rather than her intellect, prompted Campbell to advocate "the Bible in the hand and heart of woman."[102] She was "not to sit at the foot, but stand by the side, of man." Only then could she assume her "supreme importance to the State, to the Church, to the world, and to the amelioration of the social system."[103] The effectiveness of any religion or moral system among a people could be tested by one question, "How stands woman amongst them?"[104]

---

[97] *PLA*, 307.

[98] *Ibid*., 56.

[99] *Ibid*.

[100] *Ibid*., 66.

Campbell opposed voting by women and minors for the purpose of deciding church issues.[105] He likewise opposed the growing momentum for women's suffrage and other civil rights,[106] taking a dim view of women's participation on the political front: God had not intended it from the beginning; a woman belonged in the home where she was rightfully queen, and "false reformers and traitors of her sex" would fan "those fires of envious passion, which, should they even secure to her a temporary success, must ultimately degrade her."[107] Let the "women keep silent in the church and in politics," was his advice to the "female."[108]

---

[101] *Ibid.*, 70.

[102] *Ibid.*, 55.

[103] *Ibid.*, 56.

[104] *Ibid.*, 220.

[105] *MH* 1854, 203-07; 1856, 311-14.

[106] Harold L. Lunger, *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell* (St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954), pp. 146-47.

The child's participation in the church received Campbell's careful attention. The child should be brought up in the admonition of the Lord but neither the church nor the parents could choose the spiritual destiny for the child.[109] In the denial of inherited original sin, Campbell regarded the child as born in innocence but susceptible to temptation and to an inevitable fallen state.[110] Christian initiation was for those of sufficient maturity who had a saving faith acquired through judging the testimony of the Bible. Campbell opposed infant baptism either by sprinkling or by immersion.[111] He asked the question: "Are parents or their children to answer for neglect in the case of baptism?" The New Testament contained no word of injunction for the parent; therefore, "it is, indeed, the duty of the subject of baptism himself to be baptised. If so, then he must be an intelligent, voluntary, or moral agent; and such an infant is not: therefore he cannot be a subject of baptism in his own right."[112] Campbell's pragmatic approach to child immersion in the case of his own first-born is noted elsewhere (see III,2,b). Campbell believed in Christian nurture somewhat as did Bushnell; but for Bushnell, the child was to be brought up as if he were a Christian, while for Campbell, the child was to be brought up as if he were to *become* a Christian.[113]

---

[107] MH 1856, 463-69.

[108] Ibid., 300-14.

[109] Christian Baptism: With Its Antecedents and Consequents (St. Louis: John Burns, Publisher, 1882), pp. 61, 112, 339, and 390.

[110] Ibid., 375-77.

[111] CB V, 167 ff. and 222 ff.

e. *Politics and Preaching*. As early as 1830 Campbell detailed what he believed to be the changing role of the state. There were four historical phases through which any society progressed in arriving at that social ultimate which would permit "*Jesus Christ* . . . [to] *govern the world by religion only, and that by the operation of a single principle*."[114] Society was first without civil government; second, without religious associations; third, under religious-political government; and fourth, "a scheme begun which contemplates the government of men by religion without politics, by the efficacy of one principle alone"--love.[115] This fourth chapter, Campbell believed, was being written in his own day. When the triumph of Christ came, the "admirers of American liberty and American institutions

---

[112] *Christian Baptism*, 391.

[113] *Ibid*., 431.

[114] *PLA*, 368-74.

[115] *Ibid*., 371-72.

[would] have no cause to regret such an event, no cause to fear it."[116] The transition would be "but the removing of a tent to build a temple . . . ."[117]

Thus democracy was a means to an end, nationally and world-wide. In democracy itself Campbell saw an inherent weakness; if not carefully checked, its freedom permitted men to make slaves of themselves.

> The reason is, under this free government the citizens have the opportunity and the liberty of improving and bettering their circumstances to such an extent as to engross all their energies, to call forth all their powers: hence, upon themselves they impose such tasks and inflict such toils and privations as few of the monarchs of the East would be so cruel as to impose upon their subjects.[118]

That this freedom was self-imposed was a quiet concession to its inherently better quality. The real need was "to introduce the last and most beneficial change in society . . . to let the gospel, in its own plainness, simplicity and force, speak to men."[119]

In 1839 Campbell criticized the "worldly pomp and splendor" encountered in Washington, D.C. He disliked politicians generally and warned that "the *meum* and the *tuum* of the American statesman are the truest antagonistic powers in society against the philanthrophy of Christ's gospel."[120] Campbell opposed his own participation in partisan politics but supported "principles and measures" which were for the best interest of the community.[121] He justified his election in 1829 as a district representative to the Virginia Constitutional Convention because it was "not like the ordinary affairs of legislation . . . ." Because the convention dealt with fundamental principles of government--"the most grave and solemn of all political matters"--he sensed "the most perfect gravity and self-respect" in his attendance and active participation.[122]

---

[116] *Ibid.*, 374.

[117] *Ibid.*

[118] *Ibid.*, 376.

[119] *Ibid.*, 377.

The "popular crusades" directed at "evils that afflict society" annoyed Campbell because of their distracting, side-show effect. He proposed to direct his "energies to the root of the tree," leaving to others the pleasure of "lopping off branches." He did not condemn those who opposed particular "religious, moral or political evil," but cautioned that he would not devote his "pages to any one of them exclusively--and still less to any one of them politically." Campbell singlemindedly pursued his first love of promoting the "ancient order of things"; popular social-religious societies--be they temperance, missionary, or tract--were at best only a means to a more noble end.

---

[120] MH 1839, 7-8.

[121] MH 1846, 4-5.

[122] MAC II, 319-20, from a letter, recorded by Richardson, written to a William Tener, after Campbell's return from the convention.

> I say, God bless every man that works good for society; that honestly and with all his might opposes any one physical or moral evil incident to mortal man; but for my part I choose to plead that cause which in its genuine catholicity aims a mortal blow at the root of every political, every moral, every antichristian error and defect in society.[123]

By 1846 Campbell was speaking proudly of the republican government under which he lived.[124] Upon his return in 1848 from an overseas tour, he stated that he would not sell his "political rights and privileges of American citizenship for all the honors and emoluments that cluster around the stateliest and most aristocratic subject of any European or Asiatic crown worn on earth."[125]

By 1851 the Disciples of Christ had members in the United States Congress and in other responsible governmental positions. In June 1851, Campbell addressed the national Congress on the subject of "Divine Philanthropy." Washington was looking better to him all the time; in 1839 he would not speak in the Capital because of its evil political atmosphere, but in 1850 he called it "this great National Metropolis."[126] The city's transcending "beauty, . . . fine taste, if not . . . real grandeur" outshone "any capitol, parliament house, court, or legislative hall, in Europe."[127] Several hours in the Senate spent viewing and listening to "the greatest statesmen of the world," convinced him of their "wisdom and eloquence."[128] Babylon was not so "wanting" as before. Campbell decided in 1851 that there should be a Disciples of Christ Church in Washington, D.C. in order that the "great principles of the present Reformation [could] be annually laid before all at the metropolis as may desire to know them." He proposed that "a sum equal to twenty-five cents" be sent to him for "every member, male and female," to help erect an edifice "in such style as the wants of that community demand."[129]

---

[123] MH 1836, 282-83.

[124] MH 1846, 356.

[125] MH 1848, 678.

[126] MH 1850, 404-08.

Campbell's personal political views shifted over a twenty- to thirty-year period from left to right. According to Harold L. Lunger, he was early a Jacksonian Democrat in spirit, and indeed he remarked favorably on Jackson during the Virginia Convention of 1829.[130] The generally anti-aristocratic views voiced in The Christian Baptist supported Jacksonian equalitarianism. But in 1845 Campbell characterized Jackson as "profane, irreverent, and enslaved to passion . . . ."[131] Campbell switched to the Whig party no later than 1840, when, as Richardson recorded, he supported William Henry Harrison's candidacy for the Presidency.[132] Lunger concluded that Campbell consistently believed in moderate democracy and remained "to the end essentially a Jeffersonian democrat,"[133] the party of the agrarians. Jacksonians, although for the common people of the rural community, likewise represented the aspirations of the newly developing, poorly educated, propertyless, urban class of industrial and factory workers. Campbell actually showed a certain contempt for these people, characterizing them as the "unchartered ignoramuses" that constitute the fearful majority.[134] But whatever his personal political preferences, Campbell was proud of his self-restraint in not commenting on partisan issues in his publications, and boasted that one correspondent confessed that "he never could decide from the *Harbinger* whether I was a Whig or Democrat."[135]

---

[127] Ibid.

[128] Ibid.

[129] MH 1851, 53-54.

[130] Lunger, 138-41.

[131] MH 1845, 351-53.

f. *Peace and War*. Campbell abhorred violence and war. In the first article of the first edition of *The Christian Baptist* in 1823, he set the key for the lifelong tone he would sound on the topic of war. With his pen heavily ladened with sarcasm, he wrote:

---

[132] *MAC* II, 643.

[133] Lunger, 143.

[134] *CB* IV, 10.

[135] *MH* 1846, 4.

> And, stranger still, see that christian general, with his ten thousand soldiers, and his chaplain at his elbow, preaching, as he says, the gospel of good will among men; and hear him exhort his general and his christian warriors to go forth with the Bible in one hand and the sword in the other, to fight the battles of God and their country; praying that the Lord would cause them to fight valliantly, and render their efforts successful in making as many widows and orphans as will afford sufficient opportunity for others to manifest the purity of their religion by taking care of them!!![136]

While Campbell appreciated the efforts of the revolutionary fathers, he guardedly suggested that had "Washington and his illustrious compeers been still better educated than was the age in which they lived, . . . who can tell but without so much blood and so many years of suffering" liberty might have been secured.[137] When the war broke out between the States, Campbell referred to it as "the unhappy conflict of arms" and "disastrous to the best interests of our nation."[138]

He objected to the Christian's participation in war because

> The spirit of war is always a rebellious spirit. The authority resisted may be just or unjust. The world has agreed, however, that a defensive war is always just, because the authority resisted by arms is an unjust authority. The Bible, however, attributes to all wars a common origin. They spring from our lusts. . . .
>
> Christians have rights, and all other men have rights. But there is a wrong way of seeking our

---

[136] CB I, 17-18.

[137] MH 1841, 437.

[138] MH 1861, 593.

> rights. The Christian is not permitted to redress his wrongs by taking vengeance upon the wrong-doer. He is to commit his cause to Him who judges righteously, to whom vengeance belongs. . . . And let him [the Christian] also remember that the man of God should not strive, but that he be peaceable and gentle towards all men. And should he at any time [be] found striving, let it be a holy strife, to save men rather than to destroy them.[139]

In the latter statement--"let it be a holy strife, to save men rather than to destroy them"--lay the real issue. Campbell had no fear of religious strife; much of the perspective of the Restoration Movement grew out of a hostile frontier. In his book appropriately entitled Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier, Walter B. Posey devoted one-third of his coverage to Campbell's controversial movement. National and civil strife, however, only thwarted the attempt of the church to carry out its heavenly mission. Campbell interpreted this as an imperfection in society and a reflection on the gospel; it had not realized its purpose in society--the bringing about of peace. Campbell patriotically viewed the Revolution of 1776 as a "day to be remembered as was the Jewish Passover," but he looked forward to

> a more glorious work . . . reserved for this generation-- . . . the emancipation of the human mind from the shackles of superstition, . . . to deliver them from the melancholy thraldom of relentless systems . . . . This revolution, taken in all its influences, will make men free indeed.[140]

In short, civil revolution was standing in the way of spiritual revolution. Similar reasons underlay Campbell's dislike for politics and his dislike for war; both absorbed man's affections to the detriment of the church.[141]

---

[139] Ibid., 338-39.

[140] PLA, 374-75.

> Would to God they would set their affection on the politics of heaven, and leave the politics of earth to those who cannot soar above the Alleghany mountains.[142]

In an 1848 address entered in the Congressional Record, he argued that "the beatitudes of Christ are not pronounced on patriots, heroes and conquerors; but on 'peacemakers'."[143] An international body, therefore, could arbitrate between nations in matters of dispute.[144] In the midst of 1861's war clouds, he reaffirmed this belief in quite pragmatic terms:

> Sectarian wars and political wars are now, and very generally have been, unprofitable and non-paying concerns. I have been at least for fifty years of my life an advocate of arbitration by elected parties; and, therefore, during my whole life, never instituted a law suit.
>
> . . . .
>
> Nations and empires, too, in their misunderstandings and consequent alienations, might just as conveniently settle their differences and international conflicts by such references, as alienated individuals in the common walks of life.[145]

By employing international arbitration, "man's inhumanity to man" which had been intent on making "countless millions mourn" would hopefully be eliminated.[146] In the spirit of Jeremiah, he lashed out at the Civil War.

---

[141] MH 1840, 413-15.

[142] Ibid., 415.

[143] MH 1848, 361-86.

[144] Ibid.

[145] MH 1861, 347.

> Civilized America! civilized UNITED STATES! Boasting of a humane and Christian paternity and fraternity, unsheathing your swords, discharging your cannon, boasting of your heathen brutality, gluttonously satiating your furious appetites for fraternal blood, caps the climax of all human inconsistencies inscribed on the blurred and moth eaten pages of time in all its records.[147]

Campbell stood where he had always stood. He might not on principle resist with the sword, but his pen was still able to rage. His war on war persisted.

Generally speaking, during the war between the States, most of the influential leaders of the Disciples of Christ were strongly affected by Campbell's pacifism which contributed greatly to the solidarity of the Disciples.[148] In spite of his pacifism, his son, Alexander Campbell, Jr., became proslavery, which led to his becoming a Confederate cavalryman. Likewise, Barton W. Stone, Jr., son of the second most important early Disciples' leader, joined proslavery forces, accepting a commission in the Confederate cavalry.[149] Campbell's beliefs prevailed generally in the church, although individual members acted as they did out of conscience.[150]

---

[146] _Ibid_., 348.

[147] _Ibid_.

[148] DeGroot, 167.

[149] _Ibid_., 161.

g. The Bible and the National Destiny. The national vocation and destiny were clearly stated by Campbell in his August 3, 1852, address appropriately entitled, "The Destiny of Our Country."[151] "God sent them to a new world," Campbell said of the early New England settlers, "that they might institute under the most favorable circumstances, new political and ecclesiastic institutions."[152] In their "Divine Mission" Campbell found support for Anglo-Saxon supremacy. "Britain and America are of one paternity, of one religion, of one language and of one destiny."[153] In spite of the fact "that our [English] fathers" may have "occasionally perverted" their judgment, "we are her children, and, according to the fifth commandment, we must honor our parents. . . ." Without a doubt, "to Britain and America God has granted the possession of the new world."[154] This new world had become a great nation because it had opposed political tyranny. But "to protest against religious usurpation and ecclesiastic despotism, caps the climax of human nobility and grandeur."[155] Protestantism would distinguish America's destiny because there was "much of moral grandeur even in the very name Protestant," especially its "moral heroism in non-conformity to unjust laws and unholy requirements."[156]

---

[150] *Ibid.*, 170.

[151] *PLA*, 163-85.

[152] *Ibid.*, 169.

[153] *Ibid.*

[154] *Ibid.*, 169-70.

A Romanist who sided with the American Revolution only because of his dislike for "Johnny Bull" had little love of liberty, speech, and action; he had no liberty in his church and thus could not conceive of it in society.[157] For Campbell, liberty was a "law or principle as uniform and immutable as the law of gravity."[158] A Protestant who became a tyrant (and Campbell thought many had done so) was a "hypocrite or a freebooter" and no better than the Catholic, who, having fought for political liberty, "had triumphed over his religion, and cares not for it."[159]

"Educated mind shall govern the world. . . . How necessary, then, that it be conducted according to the genius of true religion and true humanity! How important that it be founded on the Bible--that great library of heaven."[160] But the "library of heaven" was not restricted to England and America; it was worldwide in its perspective. Campbell stated how America's destiny would be intermingled with that of the world.

---

[155] Ibid., 171.

[156] Ibid.

[157] Ibid., 172-73.

[158] Ibid., 173.

[159] Ibid.; A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion, Held in the Sycamore-Street Meeting House, Cincinnati, from the 13th to the 21st of January, 1837, between Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Va., and the Rt. Rev. John B. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati (Cincinnati: J. A. James & Co., 1837, reprinted by Bosworth, Chase & Hall, Cincinnati, 1870), p. 351.

> In our country's destiny is involved the destiny of Protestantism, and in its destiny that of all the nations of the world. God has given, in awful charge, to Protestant England and Protestant America--the Anglo-Saxon Race--the fortunes, not of Christendom only, but of all the world. For this purpose he has given to them all the great discoveries and improvements in the arts and sciences that have made the wilderness and the solitary places glad, and that have caused the deserts to rejoice and blossom as the rose. . . . To us, especially, he has given the new world and all its hidden treasures, with all the arts and sciences of the old. Europe, Asia and Africa look to Protestant America as the wonder of the age, and as exerting a preponderating influence on the destinies of the world.[161]

Campbell continued: "Let us cherish in our individual bosoms this feeling of personal as well as national responsibility." America should not "enter upon, but prosecute the duties which we owe to ourselves, our country and the human race."[162] Convinced that the nation would extend philanthropy to the rest of the world as she secured the blessings of learning and moral culture to herself, he affirmed that "philanthropy, like honesty, is the best national, as it is the best individual, policy.

---

[160] PLA, 177.

[161] Ibid., 179.

[162] Ibid.

It acts and reacts; it blesses and is blessed; it glorifies and is glorified."[163] The national destiny hung on the destiny of each individual.

4. The Attack on Tradition.

a. Religious Kings and Ecclesiastical Castles.

In Campbell's estimation, natural religion's emphasis upon man's rational ability and traditional religion's adherence to humanly constructed systems diluted Christ's true religion on earth. Natural religion, by denying the primary importance of revelation, "robs the Bible of its supreme glory as making God known to us, impairs the evidence in favor of its divine origin, and weakens its claims upon society at large."[164] Equally damaging were those religious viewpoints which, though accepting revelation, imposed Judaism and heathen philosophy upon Christianity.

> The confounding of the Jews' religion with the Christian religion, or the viewing of the latter as an improvement of the former, has been the foundation of error which has, since the apostolic age, corrupted the doctrine, changed the order, and adulterated the worship of the Christian church.[165]

This corruption and adulteration complicated an otherwise simple and understandable gospel.

> Instead of the apostles' doctrine, simply and plainly exhibited in the New Testament, we have got the sublime science of Theology, subdivided into scholastic, polemic, dogmatic, and practical Divinity. Instead

---

[163] Ibid., 185.

[164] MH 1836, 511.

[165] CB I, 23.

> of the *form* of sound words given by the Spirit to be held fast, we have countless creeds, composed of terms and phrases, dogmas and speculations, invented by whimsical metaphysicians, christian philosophers, rabbinical doctors, and enthusiastic preachers.[166]

In 1823 Campbell expressed satisfaction that a "goodly number of sensible and intelligent persons" were "entirely disgusted with many things *called* religious." Optimistic about the "age of inquiry," in which he lived, Campbell confidently asserted: "We are therefore somewhat sanguine that a fair opportunity presents itself for a work of this nature."[167] He referred, of course, to the immediate publication of *The Christian Baptist*. His subsequent career, devoted to restoring "the ancient order of things," confirmed his optimism.[168]

Campbell wanted to restore, not reform, primitive Christianity. He thought he could. In 1824 he branded his movement with the plea:

> This is . . . what we contend for. To bring the societies of christians *up* to the New Testament . . . to walk in the faith, and in the commandments of the Lord and Saviour, as presented in that blessed volume; and this is to *restore* the ancient order of things. . . . we doubt not but that the *era of Restoration* will . . . far transcend it [the Reformation] in importance and fame . . . .[169]

---

[166] *Ibid*., 15.

[167] *Ibid*., viii.

[168] *CB* II-V. Beginning in Volume II and extending through Volume V, Campbell composed twenty-four articles entitled, "A Restoration of the Ancient Order of Things." The content ranged over the entire field of doctrine and worship.

[169] *CB* II, 136.

To think that the significance of the "era of Restoration" would exceed that of the Reformation made Campbell somewhat of a maverick. But he boldly championed that when men understood, believed, and practiced the doctrine of Christ delivered by His apostles, there would be a "restoration of the _ancient order of things_" which is all "that is necessary to the happiness and usefulness of Christians."[170]

A man signing the unlikely name of Steady Seektruth, identified only as an Ohio Baptist, wrote Campbell in 1824 a satirical letter of praise, accusing Campbell of reading the "Bible in the old-fashioned way." Although Campbell made no comment upon the letter (not uncommon in his editorship of both _The Christian Baptist_ and _The Millennial Harbinger_), he doubtless regarded the man's supportive comments of some value. The writer began:

> Sir--I WOULD ask you, in the name of my calling, are you trying to raise the dead? Why do you make so much ado about primitive christianity, which I had thought had been buried together with the scriptures for 1600 years?[171]

The letter noted that Calvin and Luther (knowing that "modern things were better suited to modern people") had dug up _some_ of the ancient past but only those parts suitable to their age. Anything buried as long as the ancient gospel, like Lazarus, "gives an offensive smell--it is disgusting to our taste." He continued: "Hence, when you recommend any primitive practice, the moderns cannot endure it, but cry out, 'Away with it, away with it!'" The letter concluded that "unless you can get the people to read the Bible in the old-fashioned way, your efforts, sir, will be unavailing."[172] Campbell tried. If the eventual establishment of the first and largest indigenous American religious community measured success, he did "raise the dead."

---

[170] _Ibid._

[171] _CB_ I, 178-79.

According to Campbell, reading the Bible in the "old-fashioned way" produced no ecclesiastical systems and no ecclesiastics.

> In this country we have no kings, and no kingcraft. We are not, therefore, afraid to laugh at the impious and vain pretensions of the allied sovereigns. But in this country we have priests and priestcraft . . . .[173]

He explained that priests and kings "find themselves pretty much alike." Both ruled by common consent, sat upon thrones, took pay from the toils and sacrifices of their people, and claimed the divine right to rule and instruct--the Bible sanctioned none.[174] Campbell intended to rid the church of the arrogancy and the pretensions of priestcraft by

> substituting the New Testament in lieu of every creed in existence . . . . We wish, cordially wish, to take the New Testament out of the abuses of the clergy, and put it into the hands of the people. . . . They [the priests] have, . . . for their own advantage,

---

[172] _Ibid_., 178-80.

[173] _Ibid_., 88.

[174] _Ibid_., 86.

> taught them . . . that they alone can expound the New Testament . . . .[175]

Campbell deplored the dependence of the people upon the clergy for their "means of grace." That it was not possible to "even open a cattle show or an exhibition of manufacturers" without clerical prayers and religious pageantry greatly angered him.[176]

b. The Weak Walls of Pretense. The claims of power of the clergy were no less unbiblical than their titled names, Reverend or Doctor. In a caustic denunciation of Doctors of Divinity, Campbell noted

> that owing to the peculiar influence of this climate [around Canonsburgh and Washington, Pennsylvania] all our Divines will grow up into Doctors of Divinity. It is fairly presumable that the Doctors themselves will take a second growth, and shoot up into Metropolitans and Cardinals. . . . It is an honorable army where there are no privates, or subalterns, but in which every man is a Captain, or a Colonel, or a General--And how will Satan tremble when attacked by a whole army of Doctors of Divinity!!![177]

A person needed no special call to preach the gospel, thus no special title. The call to preach came through the gospel as contained in the Bible, and was instrumentally effected by a local congregation (or a denomination) in conjunction with the individual's desires and qualifications. Ministers were fallible people who differed from others only in the extent of their Christian work, not in the kind of work done. "In short, there is no need to have men among us professing to be 'called and sent of God.'"[178] Campbell believed in a literal priesthood of believers. He clarified the responsibilities of the elder and deacon in the local congregation, resisting any attempt to extend their authority beyond local autonomy.[179]

---

[175] CB II, 4; I, 94.

[176] CB I, 94.

[177] CB II, 66.

Campbell attacked seminaries as tools that promulgated the divisive systems of denominationalism. Furthermore, something artificial happened to seminary students which other professionally inclined graduates escaped.

> But my young priest gradually assumes a sanctimonious air, a holy gloom overspreads his face, and a pious sedateness reigns from his eyebrows to his chin. . . . With his Sunday coat, on a Sabbath morn, he puts on a mantle of deeper sanctity, and imperceptibly learns the three grand tones--the Sabbath tone, the pulpit tone, and the praying tone--these are the devout, the more devout, and the most devout.[180]

He assaulted Princeton Theological Seminary, in his time the most distinguished of ministerial schools.

> Mark it well--In sight of a theological school, in the vicinity of a hundred students of divinity, in the vicinity of the annual meeting of the supreme court of the church of the United States--a tract of country "seventy miles long and forty wide," the inhabitants are in a worse state than the Pagans in Asia!! Query--What has this theological school, and this general assembly been doing for years, when their nighest neighbors have been so long without every thing they call christian?[181]

---

[178] CB I, 49-56.

[179] Ibid., 10-18; CB III, 187 ff., 214 ff.

[180] CB I, 106.

[181] CB II, 6-10.

Campbell thrust home his rapier of disdain by concluding that "one hundred such students of divinity" were not worth much. "One Benjamite with his sling and stone would put a thousand such to flight."[182]

c. Sticks and Stones. Campbell's anti-ecclesiastical, anticlerical, antiseminary position fit a developing west where the leveling effect of wrestling the primitive wilderness into civilization was taking place. Campbell offered a simple message to a basically primitive and simple culture. But Campbell's restoration plea, in spite of its overtones of rugged individualism so ably represented in the west by the Baptists and Methodists, was not irrational. Although anti-ecclesiastical, he was not an anarchist; although anticlerical, he was not opposed to ministry as such; although antiseminary, he was not opposed to education.

Dislike for the title of Doctor of Divinity was matched by Campbell's suspicion that the Presbyterians recklessly conferred such titles upon undeserving clergy. The Presbyterians in general were noted for having a better educated ministry than the Methodists and Baptists. The Presbyterians received Campbell's commendation for their scholarly past that had produced men "of respectable literary attainments," and his warning about their dangerous policy of permitting D.D.'s to "spring up as by a magic rod," polluting society with men "like the Popes of olden times, who can neither read nor write."[183] Campbell lived in the midst of revivalistic emotionalism. The Baptists and Methodists placed a low value on dignity and beauty in their revival efforts, and, as Miyakawa concluded, "emotionalism was not conducive to long systematic study."[184] Campbell feared emotionalism. He appeared to his contemporaries as a rationalist. Miyakawa characterized the whole Campbellite movement as a "western religious version of rationalism and liberalism"[185] which attracted "the more prosperous and better educated Baptists."[186] In 1839, upon returning from a speaking tour in the South, Campbell criticized the emotionalism of the Baptists, using the Methodists for invidious comparison.

---

[182] *Ibid*.

> They have adopted the recruiting and converting tactics of the Methodists even to a superfluity of excitation. Their new converts are born in a tempest of passion and feeling, under the inflammatory process of long protracted meetings, and of deeply impassioned appeals to their fears and feelings. They live only in the high temperature of excitement, and languish under the dispensation of reason and truth.[187]

The distinction between the "religion of excitement" and the "excitement of religion" was stressed by Campbell. People who lived in the atmosphere of a "religion of excitement" were "mushroom Christians" who

---

[183] CB III, 117-18.

[184] T. Scott Miyakawa, Protestants and Pioneers (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1964), pp. 159-73.

[185] *Ibid.*, 104-05, 150.

[186] *Ibid.*, 157.

[187] MH 1839, 11. Campbell was hardly an after-dinner speaker himself.

> grow to perfection in a night, and wither in a day. . . . They are deluded by the idea that religion is the _effect_, and not the _cause_ of feeling. Religion, with them, is the fruit of excitement, rather than the root and reason of it.[188]

And on the relationship of feeling to religion,

> Let not one hence infer that we are opposed to feeling. God forbid! A religion without feeling is a body without a spirit. A religion that does not reach the heart and rouse all our feelings into admiration, gratitude, love, and praise, is a mere phantom. But we make feelings the _effect_, not the _cause_ of faith and of true religion. We begin not with feelings, but with the understanding: we call upon men first to believe, then to feel, and then to act. The gospel takes the whole man--the head, the heart, the hand . . . .[189]

Summarily dismissing those who claimed to have special visions, messages, and revelations by which they claimed the attention of the public, Campbell blurted that

> Enthusiasm flourishes, blooms under the popular systems. This man was regenerated when asleep, by a vision of the night. That man heard a voice in the woods, saying, "Thy sins be forgiven thee." A third saw his Saviour descending to the tops of the trees at noon day. A thousand form a band, and sit up all night to take heaven by surprise. . . . Another class . . . have discovered that there is no hell. . . .[190]

Campbell enjoyed the company of religious anti-emotionalists who were, in many doctrinal circumstances, his enemies. He said little about the Episcopalians, who, in their aloofness from emotionalism, quietly condemned revivalistic proceedings. The Presbyterians, according to Perry Miller, "never condemned the principle of the Revival *in toto*, but simply objected (however strenuously) to inflated eloquence, to a neglect of theology, to allowing emotions to run away with logic."[191] In December 1830, during a tour which took him to Franklin, Tennessee, Campbell complained about "the icebergs of Calvinism," although he commented favorably upon a Mr. Jennings of Nashville who spoke with a "fine Presbyterian voice, with a very evangelical tone."[192] The Unitarians, blessed with the passion of Orville Dewey and the warmth of William Ellery Channing, dismissed revivalism as artificial, delusionary, and thus un-American.[193] In 1840, Campbell made essentially the same charges when he accused the users of the "mourning bench" and "anxious seat" of creating delusion with "dreams, anecdotes, fictions . . . and unmeaning vociferations." He concluded that "the machinery of modern revivals is not divine, but human. It is certainly delusive."[194] The evil of "fanaticism," similar to that of the Crusades, had prompted revivalists to put unchristian bait "on the evangelical hook."[195] The solution to the problem was succinct: "From all this scene of raging enthusiasms, be admonished, my friends, to open your Bibles and to hearken to the voice of God, which is the voice of reason."[196]

---

[188] _Ibid_., 34-35.

[189] _Ibid_., 12.

[190] _CB_ I, 149.

---

[191] Perry Miller, *The Life of the Mind in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965), p. 17.

[192] *MH* 1831, 111-13.

[193] Miller, 18-19.

[194] *MH* 1840, 167-70.

5. Summary. Although Campbell loved home and family, he did not rest easily. He was, in fact, restless--a prophet in the pulpit, a "scrapper" in debates, an activist in education, and a polemicist in writing. Everything was done with dispatch and vigor. His doggedness made him a good hunter: he tracked his opponents relentlessly, giving them no quarter, and more than one, wounded by his attack, complained that Campbell lived "in the fire of strife and contention."[197] Even when he lit fleetingly upon an opponent, he was apt to bite. He was made for Daniel Boone country.

Campbell the citizen scanned the panorama of social and religious issues, and found himself fascinated by views on the left such as pacifism and antitraditionalism. On the right he was captivated by Anglo-Saxon superiority and limited suffrage. In the middle he found the stability of an antislavery, anti-abolitionist position.

---

[195] Ibid.

[196] CB I, 149.

[197] Posey, 61.

Campbell was nimble, handling all of these seemingly discordant "left-to-right" views like a skilled juggler. Some of Campbell's ideas, especially his social, were designed to meet the exigencies of his own day. Other ideas, particularly his religious, were to serve as a bulwark against the flux of time.

As a crusader Campbell was at his best wresting religious power from religious kings. His voice was not the only voice to be heard, but it was loud and clear. His battle cry was "set religion free"; his battle-axe was the Bible--the voice of God and the voice of reason.

Chapter III

THE CENTRALITY OF THE BIBLE IN CAMPBELL'S THOUGHT

1. The Sufficiency of the Bible. For Alexander Campbell the Bible was the sole, exclusive, and ultimate source of morality. In so believing, he joined those Protestant forces which underscored biblical supremacy in matters religious. No small part of that religious encompassment was morality itself.

As a Protestant of the Protestants, Campbell protested vigorously against Protestantism, accusing it of having slipped into the same abyss as Catholicism: the abandonment of biblical authority for that of arbitrary church authority. Martin Luther's "Priesthood of Believers" had, in Campbell's opinion, degenerated into a "Priesthood of Protestants" wherein the Bible had become subsidiary to constituted credal systems and ecclesiastical authority.[1] He did, however, recognize what superiority he felt Protestantism inherently had within it--at least its stated belief in biblical supremacy. But "every sect, with a human creed, carries in it, as the human body, the seeds of its own mortality."[2]

Convinced that Protestantism had begun to reap

---

[1] CB I, 132-36; II, 152-58.

[2] CB I, 122.

"the seeds of its mortality," Campbell worked with friends and followers to reinstitute, among other things, a return to the idea contained in the motto: "Where the scriptures speak, we speak; and where the scriptures are silent, we are silent."[3] Not only in statement but in practice the Bible had to be supreme. According to Campbell, the Catholic Church took the position that it had given the Bible to the world and thus could speak authoritatively on matters scriptural; he stated that "her pretensions to have given us the Bible and faith in it" were "immoral in their tendency."[4] The fact that Protestants claimed in chorus that their belief systems came out of the Bible, but that Catholicism's creed did not, left Campbell unimpressed.[5] As far as he was concerned, if something was in the Bible, leave it there; do not "take it out." Except for their intrinsic Christian qualities, man-made creeds were not efficacious. He further argued that since moral precepts were to be found in the Bible, man-made additions were presumptuous: man-made additions had no theological sanction and thus were binding on a person only by consent. He observed, with John Locke, that most church bodies (bound by some so-called biblical creed) required more of man to be a Christian than Christ did. "No book but the Bible, no creed but Christ" was axiomatic for Campbell.[6]

---

[3] MAC I, 236.

[4] Campbell-Purcell, viii, 264-68; Christianity Restored (Bethany, Va.: 1835, reprinted by Old Paths Book Club, Rosemead, Calif., 1959), pp. 3-6.

[5] DeGroot, 7.

"No creed but Christ," the latter half of the motto of the Disciples, was the rallying point for Campbell. The common meeting ground for Christians should be the person of Christ himself rather than the host of credal systems that were dividing the Protestant world.[7] If one called himself a Christian, he should be interested in following the one after whom he was called. Personal loyalty meant fidelity to the person and to His word (the Bible), rather than to a credal system, however Christian it might be in origin. At best, loyalty was only indirect when expressed through secondary means, mainly denominational credal systems.

Campbell maintained that Protestants were trying to find a way of expressing their loyalty through the invention of credal schemes, hoping that in some way these would match the wishes of Christ. Perhaps over enthusiastically, but nevertheless passionately, he insisted that man can know what Christ wants by examining His word. "We became skeptics in every thing sectarian--in every thing in religion--but the Bible."[8]

---

[6] See _A Debate between Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. N. L. Rice on the Action, Subject, Design, and Administration of Christian Baptism; also on The Character of Spiritual Influence in Conversion and Sanctification, and on The Expediency and Tendency of Ecclesiastic Creeds as Terms of Union and Communion_ (Lexington, Ky.: A. T. Skillman & Son, 1844) for a thorough discussion of this topic, particularly the last section on creeds, etc.

[7] DeGroot, 4-6.

The Bible actually, not theoretically, was for Campbell the first and final authority in matters religious and moral, not the last appeal when all human schemes had failed. His argument against what he believed to be unbiblical denominational doctrines resembled the basic argument used by Francis Bacon (1561-1626) against certain poorly defined, if not unreliable, scientific beliefs of his day. Scientists, shackled by data that gave birth to unreasonable and unreliable laws of nature, tended to accept that portion of nature that agreed with their foregone or preemptory conclusions while ignoring other nonsupportive considerations and contradictions to be found in nature. Bacon believed a good scientist must consider all the evidence, not only that which appears to support a theory. In matters biblical, Campbell championed the use of the Baconian system. An understanding of the Bible and its religious and moral importance resulted from an honest examination, not from an intent to find support for an established belief. Thus all evidence had to be examined before drawing a conclusion. In his Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch, a book of early morning lectures given during the 1859-60 school year at Bethany College, Campbell pointed out that "in order properly to understand the grand theme of the Old and New Testament writing, we must examine the Bible carefully. No man can understand an atom of the universe without a general view of the mass. We must always look at the parts in the whole, and examine the whole in the parts."[9] Implicit in this statement is a peculiar concern for biblical exegesis and hermeneutics, a topic to be discussed later (see V,4,c).

---

[8] MH 1832, 313.

2. The Bible in Campbell's Life. By way of introduction, Campbell's adult views regarding the Bible have been touched upon. His earlier life, however, must be investigated to discover those formative elements which helped to shape his life's perspective, particularly as it relates to moral education.

a. The Bible in Campbell's Early Life. Alexander Campbell was born in Antrim, Ireland in 1788 of devout Presbyterian parents. His father, Thomas Campbell, had been raised in a family identified earlier with Roman Catholicism and later with Anglicanism. Thomas Campbell developed a "most sincere and earnest love" for the Bible, and this love, coupled with a dislike for the "cold formality of the Anglican ritual," helped turn him to Presbyterianism. For his part, the Presbyterians had a greater love for the scriptures as well as a "vital piety."[10] His study for the Presbyterian ministry in the Anti-Burgher branch of the Seceder division, a particularly conservative and individualistic group, led to his graduation from the University of Glasgow, after which he spent a lifetime preaching and teaching.

---

[9] FLP, 323.

[10] MAC I, 22.

Since as a minister under Synodic control Thomas Campbell was expected to tend to the spiritual needs of his family, Alexander Campbell matured under daily reading and instruction in the Bible.[11] The nature of the family's biblical study was detailed by Campbell's biographer:

> It was their rule that every member should memorize, during each day, some portion of the Bible, to be recited at evening worship. Long passages were often thus recited, but if only a single verse was correctly repeated by the smaller children, it was received with encouraging approbation. Attention was usually called to the important facts or truths presented in each recitation, questions were asked in regard to them, and appropriate remarks briefly offered. Finally, the Scriptures repeated during the week were again rehearsed on the evening of the Lord's Day.[12]

The routine, although employing repetition and review, encouraged inquiry, a consideration that Alexander Campbell later thought most important in the educative process (see VI,2,c). Richardson stressed Thomas Campbell's "appeal, as far as possible, to the heart and conscience,"[13] which Alexander later came to believe was the center of education (see V,2,a). He affirmed that the daily study and recitation of the Bible, and Brown's Catechism greatly impressed him with the Bible's importance.[14] In many ways, the pietism of the Campbell home resembled that which Philipp Jakob Spener advocated in his Pia Desideria (1675). It stressed inculcating inward piety, not assimilating dogmatic beliefs. The life-giving character of the scriptures had been squeezed out by an inflexible, creed-bound institution--the church. Kindly discourse, instead of polemic bitterness, would encourage a heart-to-heart relationship among Christian brethren. Private conferences in the home, like the Campbells', was an important adjunct to pietism.

---

[11] Ibid., 35.

[12] Ibid., 36.

[13] Ibid.

Alexander Campbell's reverence for the Bible partially developed out of two other particularly strong boyhood impressions. When he entered his father's study, which contained a fine assortment of books, scarcely without exception he found two books upon his father's desk: a Bible and a concordance. The father, in his ministerial visitation, discovered that children confused the language of the catechism with the language of the Bible, prompting him to minimize the catechism, lest they think he equated catechistical authority with biblical authority.[15] The Bible upon Thomas Campbell's desk with accompanying concordance but without catechism or commentary signaled its supremacy in religious matters. The Bible was its own best interpreter, for "of whatever use other books may be, to direct and lead us to the Bible, or to prepare and assist us to understand it, yet the Bible never directs us to any book but itself."[16]

---

[14] Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell, 9.

[15] MAC I, 39-40.

Following his immigration to the United States, Thomas Campbell broke with Synodic association.[17] He was convinced that man's belief systems were spiritually important and that the Bible should reign over the conscience and conduct of man. An earlier practice, now molded into stated principle, became the kernel of his conviction presented in 1807 before the investigating Seceder Synod of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania).

> . . . I dare not venture to trust my own understanding so far as to take upon me to teach anything as a matter of faith or duty but what is already expressly taught and enjoined by Divine authority; and I hope it is no presumption to believe that saying and doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes on the sacred page, is infallibly right, as well as all-sufficient for the edification of the Church, whose duty and perfection it is to be in all things conformed to the original standard.[18]

The Synod was not favorably impressed with "expressly taught," "Divine authority," "doing the very same things that are said and done before our eyes on the sacred page," "all-sufficient," and "original standard." After Campbell denounced the Synod as an unnecessary accessory to biblical authority, he returned home to continue his ministry. Soon Thomas enunciated before a congregation the conviction that "Where the Scriptures speak, we speak; and where the Scriptures are silent, we are silent."[19] To assume that the Campbells then or afterwards were biblical literalists would be an oversimplification. Alexander revolted at the idea that all biblical passages were equally important. It was this position which led in 1816 to his expulsion from the Baptist Redstone Association, a fellowship the Campbells had joined in 1813. Alexander contended that the Christian was not bound by the Mosaic covenant, but instead, was under the new covenant of Christ. "The Christian System" was not an extension or modification of the Mosaic covenant; rather, much of the old covenant was irrelevant and "repugnant to Christianity."[20]

---

[16] Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell, 91.

[17] MAC I, 230.

[18] Ibid., 226.

On doctor's orders, Thomas Campbell had come to the United States in 1807, leaving his family behind in Scotland where Alexander, then nineteen, attended Glasgow University, his father's alma mater, for one year.[21] There the anticredal ideas sown by his father grew into convictions paralleling those which, for his father, were incubating under the heated investigation of the Philadelphia

---

[19] Ibid., 236.

[20] Garrison and DeGroot, 163-68; MH 1846, 493 ff.

[21] MAC I, 129-46.

Synod.[22] When, after two years of separation, Thomas welcomed his family to the new world on a Pennsylvania road not far from Chestnut, Alexander found himself troubled by what he thought were independent convictions. How could he tell his father that he no longer could conform to a Presbyterian credal system in so far as it violated what he believed to be biblical? When Alexander broached the topic with his father, he discovered that in spite of their separation they shared many convictions.

In 1809 Thomas Campbell set forth in his Declaration and Address the principles of what would be known later as the Restoration Movement (Disciples of Christ). It further served as the covenant of the Christian Association of Washington, Pennsylvania, which Thomas Campbell organized.[23] Its fifty-four pages pleaded for Christian unity by rejecting creeds and returning to the original standards found in the Bible. Since most Christians believed in the authority of the Bible, he asked why the Bible could not constitute the basis for Christian unity. Primitive, first-century, biblical standards were to be sought out. The "kernel," as Oscar Cullmann contemporarily puts it, must come from "the most ancient Christian writings themselves."[24] Campbell would have modified this kernel only to the extent of making certain that the "most ancient Christian writings" meant biblical writings, but not necessarily all of them equally (see III,3,a).

---

[22] Ibid., 219-21.

[23] Ibid., 240-46.

[24] Oscar Cullmann, Christ and Time (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950), p. 12.

Alexander Campbell reacted favorably to the biblical emphasis in the Declaration and Address.[25] When he decided to enter the ministry, Thomas Campbell advised him to "divest himself of all earthly concerns, to retire to his chamber, to take up the Divine Book, and to make it the subject of his study for at least six months."[26] He did so, and made the Bible not only the center of his study but of his life's work.

b. The Bible in His Life's Work. Although Thomas Campbell is acknowledged as the grass-roots founder of the return-to-the-Bible movement, later known as the Restoration Movement, he only laid the cornerstone of what Alexander would later dedicate himself to build. Thomas Campbell assumed a John-the-Baptist attitude toward Alexander, saying in effect: "I must decrease that he might increase." Although Thomas remained respected, revered, and active in the Restoration Movement, upon Alexander's shoulders fell the mantle.[27]

---

[25] MAC I, 273.

[26] Ibid., 275.

[27] "Restoration Movement" is common nomenclature for what later became known as the Disciples of Christ. The term applies particularly to Campbell's desire to "restore" first century Christian ideals to the nature and function of the church. See DeGroot, 3-7, 89-96.

Campbell's public career began as early as 1810. A running newspaper battle with a Mrs. Hastings at Washington College, Pennsylvania (Presbyterian) centered around Campbell's objection to some improprieties--including profanity--engaged in by the graduating class in their annual "public exercises." He attacked the administration on the moral issue.[28] The recurring volleys gave Campbell valuable shooting practice, but President Brown did not admit having been hit until thirty years later when he invited Campbell, then a respected writer and preacher, to speak at Washington College. According to Richardson, the conciliatory conversation went as follows:

> Mr. Campbell, you were entirely right in your strictures. There is no doubt that you were perfectly right. I must admit we were wrong . . . .[29]

Not long after the Washington College episode, Alexander Campbell, at twenty-two, preached his first sermon.[30] Although his formal education was limited, he had been well tutored by his father. His preference for play deferred his serious studies,[31] yet he read extensively, particularly in Bacon, Newton, and Locke (see III,2,a).[32] His year at the University of Glasgow had intellectually and theologically stimulated him. This study, complemented by his first year of writing, sharpened his thinking considerably.

---

[28] MAC I, 300-07.

[29] *Ibid.*, 309. Richardson gives no source for this conversation.

[30] *Ibid.*, 312-13.

[31] *Ibid.*, 31-32.

[32] *Ibid.*, 33.

His first sermon was an exposition of Matthew 17:24-27, the parable of the man who either builds unwisely on the sand or wisely upon the rock.[33] Campbell was said to have exercised those analytical powers that he would wield with such force throughout his lifetime. Given to little gesticulation and to simplicity of language, he evoked positive response. According to Richardson, many thought him a better preacher than his father.[34] Better or not is hard to say, but more influential and commanding in the Restoration Movement was the consensus of those who knew them, as well as the clear verdict of history. Walter B. Posey in his lectures of 1963 stated that the "towering and dominating figure in the reformation movement eventually to be known as the Disciples of Christ was Alexander Campbell."[35]

In 1811 he conducted his first preaching tour without orders from any Presbytery. Since the second meeting of the Philadelphia Synod late in 1810 had not resolved its problems with Thomas Campbell, Alexander joined the fray and questioned the right of any Presbytery to choose ministers, to decide by vote religious matters which he considered explicitly stated in the scriptures, and to make the laws of men binding upon Christians. His adamant stand for a Bible-only creed and his reproach of the Synod nettled its members.[36]

---

[33] _Ibid_., 313-14.

[34] _Ibid_., 316.

[35] Posey, 44.

In March 1812, the birth of Alexander Campbell's first child raised serious questions in his mind concerning the validity of infant baptism, although his Presbyterian background suggested the necessity of the rite. The problem had two facets: (1) should infants be baptized? (2) if so, was sprinkling a legitimate mode of baptism? First, Campbell argued, children did not inherit sin (original sin) nor had they sinned themselves; thus remission of sins was pointless (see IV,7). Further, immersion should be the voluntary act of a person based upon his having heard the biblical testimony and having made a decision based upon rational evidence. He concluded that a candidate "must be an intelligent, voluntary, or moral agent; and such an infant is not: therefore, he cannot be a subject of baptism in his own right."[37] Infant baptism deprived children "of exercising the liberty of conscience in choosing that which they have examined, and in refusing that which they disapprove."[38] Faith grew out of biblical evidence; it was not a gift of God irresistibly received, as strict Presbyterian doctrine claimed. A baby could not believe evidence, had no sin, and thus had neither need of nor right to baptism.

---

[36] MAC I, 336-47.

[37] Christian Baptism, 391.

[38] Ibid., 408.

As to the second facet of the problem--was sprinkling a proper mode of baptism?--Campbell found "that there is not one instance of infant baptism, expressed or implied, from the first to the last page of that apostolic and Divine Volume."[39] The word "baptism" derived from the Greek root bapto (βάπτω), meaning "dip."

> For, as all allow that dip is the primary and proper meaning of bapto, and colour, stain, dye, and wet, its figurative or secondary meanings; and as all admit that baptizo is the word that the Christian Lawgiver consecrated to indicate this ordinance; and as it is incontrovertibly derived from bapto, and therefore inherits the proper meaning of the bap, which is dip, then is it not irresistibly evident that baptizo can never authorize or sanction any other action than dipping or immersion, as found in Christ's commission?[40]

If he were to remain true to his belief that the Bible was the guide to Christian action, he could neither justify the need for infant baptism nor accept the substitution of sprinkling for immersion.[41] Campbell's *ad hoc* approach to biblical use was well illustrated by his position on baptism. When biblical problems arose in the experience of the person or church, the problems were to be carefully analyzed in the light of the scriptures, stated in scriptural terms, and solved in the context of the scriptures. The standard by which a problem's solution could be measured did not lie outside the Bible; instead, the solution to a biblical problem lay in the Bible itself.

---

[39] *Ibid*., 246.

[40] *Ibid*., 118-22.

[41] *MAC* I, 393-96.

Before his daughter's birth he himself had been only sprinkled, not immersed; now convinced of his need for immersion, Campbell anxiously sought out a Baptist minister. His father, though surprised, made no objection, and the very next day, June 13, 1812, he quietly carried his own bundle of dry clothing to the place of baptism. Before the day ended, both Alexander and his wife, his mother and father, his sister, and two others were immersed.[42] In Christianity Restored (1835), Campbell, reflecting upon the earlier days of his struggle with the doctrine of baptism, said:

> Infant baptism and infant sprinkling, with all infantile imbecility, immediately expired in our minds, soon as the Bible alone was made the only measure of faith and duty. This foundation of the paidobaptist temple being instantly destroyed, the whole edifice, leaning upon it, became a heap of ruins.[43]

Out of the tumbled "paidobaptist temple" rose the distraught Calvinistic voices which labeled him a liberal and an Arminian. The denial of original sin, the devoted attempt to destroy its corollary, infant baptism, and the explication of the case for adult baptism by immersion rubbed the salt of Campbell's revolt deeply into the sectarian wounds of the middle frontier.

---

[42] Ibid., 398-99.

[43] Christianity Restored, 11-12.

Upsetting as Campbell's biblical views were to some people, his exegetical ability was at least distinctive, if not distinguished. Ex-President Madison stated that Campbell was "the ablest and most original expounder of the Scriptures" that he had ever heard (see I,1). He was not only the Bible's expounder; he was its advocate. On one occasion, while visiting in Cincinnati, Campbell had addressed the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association. Dr. Herman Humphrey, former president of Amherst College, listened in the audience and later wrote in the New York Observer that

> Dr. Campbell's first discourse was an exceedingly interesting eulogy, if I may so call it, upon the Bible, glancing rapidly at some of the internal proofs of its divine origin, dwelling as much as his time would allow upon its wonderful history, biography and prophecies . . . .[44]

Dr. Humphrey further described Campbell as the "most perfectly self-possessed, the most perfectly at ease in the pulpit, of any preacher I ever listened to, except, perhaps, the celebrated Dr. John Mason of New York."[45] Similar comments concerning Campbell in no way lessened his warfare against what he believed to be religious error.

---

[44] MAC II, 582.

[45] Ibid.

He impaled friend and foe alike with his sharpened pen and wit. But by 1849 the Presbyterians, including Humphrey, knew quite well Alexander Campbell's position on matters orthodox, especially in view of Campbell's 1843 debate with N. L. Rice, a Presbyterian, which lasted sixteen days. Half a million words poured from their mouths, and during this verbal battle Campbell attacked the Presbyterians on various and sundry doctrines--baptism (sprinkling), original sin, work of the Holy Spirit in conversion, human creeds, etc. First, however, he set about to establish the "Bible to be the true and only guide in religion, and vindicated the sufficiency of the simple gospel which it reveals as the basis of Christian union apart from all mere human opinions . . . ."[46] His second of six propositions denied that the infant of a believing parent needed to be baptized; Rice affirmed the necessity. In the fifth proposition, Campbell argued that the Bible, not the Holy Spirit, was the immediate means of divine instruction. Rice, a Calvinist, held that the Holy Spirit directly worked upon the heart to bring about conversion.[47] For Campbell conversion required the consent of the converted, not the irresistible work of the Holy Spirit. Here was to be found a clue to Campbell's underlying thesis in moral education: the Bible was the sole source of moral and religious instruction (see V,4,a and d). As the leader in establishing Bethany College (1840), Campbell made this statement concerning the centrality of the Bible at the College:

---

[46] _Ibid_., 521.

[47] Garrison and DeGroot, 232-33; _Christian_ _Baptism_, 63-76.

> Bethany College is the only College known to us in the civilized world, founded upon the Bible. It is not a theological school, founded upon human theology, not a school of divinity, founded upon the Bible; but a literary and scientific institution, founded upon the Bible as the basis of all true science and true learning.[48]

Why he thought Bethany College unique in its approach to the Bible is best explained in his own words:

> The Bible is every day read publicly by one student in the hearing of all the other students. It is then lectured upon for nearly one hour . . . . Its science or doctrine being but the meaning of its facts, and the precepts and promises founded upon them, is then inductively gathered and arranged by every student for himself.[49]

Campbell's evaluation of the conduct of his class was borne out by a contemporary, W. T. Moore, who, in his introduction to Campbell's Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch, remarked that Campbell's manner in class was quite conversational, devoid of any attempt to organize logically the material for the student. He used no manuscript, preferred to respond to questions left in written form on his desk, and in general seemed to be unaware "of the [Bible] chapter to be discussed, until attention was called to it by the young man whose time it was to read."[50]

---

[48] MH 1850, 291.

[49] Ibid.

[50] FLP, 54-55.

Campbell's interest in the Bible went beyond his sermons, debates, and class lectures. In 1852, before a Bible Union Convention in Memphis, he proposed the production of a new translation of the Bible. He believed

> that it is a paramount duty of the Christian Church of the nineteenth century to give to the present age, in our own vernacular, a perspicuous, exact and faithful version of the living oracles of God, as we find them in the Hebrew and Greek originals of inspired prophets, apostles and evangelists.[51]

Just that he had attempted to do, at least in part, in his edition of the New Testament printed in 1827, based upon an earlier translation from the Greek by Doctors George Campbell, James MacKnight, and Phillip Doddridge, to which Alexander Campbell added prefaces, various emendations, and an appendix by way of explanation.[52]

After Campbell's death on March 4, 1866, Moses E. Lard, editor of _Lard's Quarterly_ and author of several commentaries, eulogized Campbell's life and thought as centered on Scripture:

> Here Mr. Campbell stood for life. _Indeed the all-sufficiency of the word of God is the true comprehensive generalization of his labors_. To this every thought must be referred; from this every act sprang. This determined the man; this determined his work.
>
> . . . .
>
> Thou friend of the Bible, thou friend of man--fare thee well![53]

---

[51] _PLA_, 566.

[52] _The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ Commonly Styled The New Testament_ (Nashville: Harbinger Book Club, 1951).

[53] Lard, 266, 270.

3. The Nature and Function of the Bible in His Thought and Life. Campbell was not a worshipper of the Bible, although he considered it indispensable to man's welfare--but as a means, not an end. It was the perfect means to a perfect end. But Campbell did worship its author. Without His book, one would know nothing about Him nor His wishes. To this topic we now turn.

a. The Nature of the Bible: Divine Revelation. The Bible was divine revelation and not a book of human making. Campbell asserted its centrality in the moral universe and its perfection:

> The Bible is to the intellectual and moral world of man what the sun is to the planets in our system,--the fountain and source of light and life, spiritual and eternal. There is not a spiritual idea in the whole human race that is not drawn from the Bible. As soon will the philosopher find an independent sunbeam in nature, as the theologian a spiritual conception in man, independent of THE ONE BEST BOOK.[54]
>
> The Bible, or the Old and New Testament, in Hebrew and Greek, contains a full and perfect revelation of God and his will, adapted to man as he now is. . . . It is not, then, a treatise on man as he was; nor as he will be; but on man as he is and as he ought to be; not as he is physically, astronomically, geologically, politically, or metaphysically; but as he is and ought to be, *morally and religiously*.[55]

Like most everyone else of his time, Campbell assumed God to be a God of order and that He disclosed His orderliness through nature's order. Man might not understand that order fully, might not even recognize it, but he nevertheless received its benefits. Since religion had the same orderly source as nature, i.e., God, thus religion and morality were likewise orderly. However, they were not derived from the natural world; they were part of the moral and spiritual universe.

---

[54] *The Christian System in Reference to the Union of Christians and Restoration of Primitive Christianity as Plead by the Current Reformation* (2nd ed., St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1839), p. 15. Subsequent abbreviated reference to this work will be *CS*; see Preface, vi.

[55] *Ibid*.

Campbell distinguished between natural religion and religion based on revelation. As a whole, he regarded natural religion as "founded upon the hypothesis, that man, by the exercise of his natural reason, is capable of arriving at the knowledge of God and the relations to him and one another."[56] Campbell rejected this hypothesis. Robert West summarized the issue as follows:

> In short Campbell was willing to go, and actually did go, far with all opponents of revealed religion. He shared with them in a common skepticism of all traditional religious absolutism and claims to infallibility in theory and practice. He went as far as any of them, with the possible exception of the advocates of total political anarchy, in pleading for the separation of the church from the state. He agreed that conventional religion, in its present state, should be abolished for the good of mankind.[57]

While Campbell's skepticism did not extend to the core of the Bible, it did extend to much of nineteenth-century "conventional religion" because of its human, nonbiblical origin. Further, no inherent conflict existed between the natural world of science and the supernatural origin of the Bible because "a better knowledge of nature and of the Bible has shown that there is no discord or contradiction in their testimonies."[58] But Campbell resisted any notion that natural religion, armed with human invention or scientific data, could infallibly establish or give necessary support to revelation because

---

[56] Campbell and Owen, 143.

[57] West, 52.

> if supernatural power can only prove its own existence [which Campbell maintained was done by revelation], how will the universe prove any more than itself?[59]

God, the source of all the universe, revealed morality to man in much the same manner as He revealed nature to man--by permitting him to observe it. But their common origin did not mean that morality was found by investigating nature, or vice versa. To know morality required God's revelation of it.[60] Revelation was to morality what science was to nature.

> A chemist or a natural philosopher might as soon, and as successfully, teach chemistry and natural philosophy without a laboratory and without a test from nature, as a moralist or a theologian teach the will of God, or the duty of man, religion or morality without God's testaments.[61]

Campbell rejected the idea that the revelation of God, the Bible, was subject to institutional interpretation, Catholic or Protestant, but rather asserted that it could be directly (not to say "easily") understood by anyone. Each believer, assisted by the proper mental tools, could understand the revelation of God, or else it was not deserving of the name revelation, for

---

[58] MH 1836, 599.

[59] Ibid., 513-14.

[60] CB VI, 79.

[61] MH 1850, 125.

> when God spoke to man in his own language, he spoke as one person converses with another,--in the fair, stipulated and well-established meaning of the terms. This is essential to its character as a revelation from God; otherwise it would be no revelation, but would always require a class of inspired men to unfold and reveal its true sense to mankind.[62]

Revelation by definition appealed to man's common experience. "_Things entirely unknown can only be communicated to the mind by things already known_."[63]

Although the Bible contained the revelation of God, everything in the Bible was not revelation, but all the Bible was inspired, that is, "divinely authenticated."[64] In this case what man could not otherwise know must be revealed. That which could be known by other means would not be revealed. In short, the divine revelation contained in the Bible was the distinctive message of that book.[65] Inspiration, as contrasted with revelation, permeated the total message of the Bible. The writers were inspired by the Holy Spirit to write down what they did, whether it was revelation or the common experience of mankind. Not all that was inspired could be urged upon man as revelation; in fact, because of Campbell's dispensationalism (see V,4,c), not even all revelation was obligatory upon man. Campbell remonstrated with those who would put the yoke of Jewish law, obviously inspired and revealed, upon Christians.

---

[62] _CS_, 15-16.

[63] Campbell and Owen, 388, 152.

[64] _Ibid_., 381.

[65] _Ibid_., 152-53.

Campbell avoided a literal or mechanical view of inspiration wherein the writer transcribed exact dictation given by the Holy Spirit, and he also avoided the plenary view of inspiration wherein the total content, but not style or words, was inspired. The Bible, therefore, blended elements both human and divine, but it was not man who determined the blending; it was the Holy Spirit. In particular, revelation, in so far as it related to morality, was concerned with that moral order which man could not find in and through nature, and which, because of its eternal character, must come from eternity itself.[66]

b. The Function of the Bible: Divine Direction. Since God spoke authoritatively to man through revelation, the Bible consisted of facts and not theories; it was accepted by faith and could not be verified by speculation. The necessity of the Bible for moral direction led Campbell to emphasize its factual character.

---

[66] MH 1864, 79-81.

> But God's own Book of books is a book of facts, and not at all a book of theories. Facts are for children and the great masses of humanity; philosophies, speculations and doctrines, abstruse and metaphysical, are for philosophers and dogmatists, and not for the great masses of humanity. Moses begins with facts and palpable documents, and ends with them; so do all other inspired writers. They give us every thing in the concrete and nothing in the abstract. Hence, the divine area of creation, of providence, of moral government and of redemption furnish the proper materials of history and prophecy, which include the contents of both Testaments.[67]

A "popular gentleman" could be fashioned out of an "admixture of human speculations," but a true gentleman could only be formed when his "relations to God and to man" were biblically derived and fulfilled. Through the Bible God advised man of his responsibilities and of the means by which these responsibilities could be properly discharged. Because man's relationship to God affected man's relationship to other men, revelation directed man in his social conscience.

In an analysis of the Ten Commandments,[68] Campbell noted that the last six were strictly concerned with man's social relationships. Of the first four religious precepts, he observed that the first--"Thou shalt have no other gods before me"--was the only one which in its nature and relation was absolutely religious. A moral person had to obey the first command, for upon it hinged the authority and weight of all the remaining commands.

---

[67] PLA, 243.

[68] Ibid., 302-03.

All morality sprang from the "sublime preamble, 'I AM THE LORD THY GOD.'"

Campbell believed the Bible to be a book of facts given to benefit man. In the Campbell-Owen Debate,[69] Campbell objected to Owen's asserting his human speculation as fact rather than as theory and explained that "fact"

> is derived from factum. It means that which is done. Now it is not a fact that I have two eyes. This is not a fact, but a truth. It is a fact that I rose up or sat down. Anything I may have done is a fact. No speculation can be a fact. It may be a fact that a man expressed such an opinion; but the opinion itself is no fact.[70]

When the skeptic rejected revelation because it did not conform to the regular laws of nature, Campbell replied:

> If nature's laws are uniform and permanent without the intervention of a supernatural agency; if all

---

[69] A series of essays designed to refute the Bible and the Christian institution written by Robert Owen, English industrialist and philanthropist, appeared in 1827 in his own publication, The New Harmony Gazette. Campbell, considering Owen the foremost proponent of the skeptical world, commented upon these essays in The Christian Baptist. Eventually Campbell accepted a challenge published in New Orleans in 1828 by Owen that he would prove the religions of the world were founded upon ignorance, etc. Arrangements were made for the debate to be held in April 1829, in Cincinnati, Ohio. Because Robert Owen was an internationally known figure, Campbell made considerable preparation for the occasion. Owen was the founder of a communitarian society at New Harmony, Indiana; in order to engage in the debate with Campbell, he interrupted a trip to Mexico, where he had hoped to establish another communitarian colony. His philanthropy and interest in infant schools were well known. This debate is often referred to as Campbell's "Great Debate"--to distinguish it from four other famous ones.

[70] Campbell and Owen, 244.

> things continue as they were from eternity--all science is hypothetical--astronomy and geology, with all the physical sciences, are without facts and without reason. But they are not; therefore we have all the physical facts against the hypotheses of the skeptic and in proof of facts supernatural.[71]

Campbell pointed out the inconsistency of Owen's argument:

> By what sort of evidence do we learn the laws of nature? Is it not by the testimony of our senses? If, then, I believe my senses while they at one time attest the regularity of the laws of nature, why should I disbelieve them when, in a particular case or in a number of cases, they depose that the laws of nature are suspended, violated or changed? Why should the senses in this arbitrary way be metamorphosed into true or false witnesses to suit the emergency of the philosopher? Now, we--who believe in supernatural facts, or facts above the regular continuance of the laws of nature, and which those laws can by no possibility achieve--admit the testimony of our senses as true and faithful in both cases. Judge, then, gentlemen, which of the two schemes is most rational and consistent--that which uniformly credits the senses as faithful witnesses, or that which, according to the emergency of the case, whimsically and arbitrarily makes them true or false witnesses at the demand of a favorite theory. And is it not evident that he who discredits the testimony of the senses in any case, in which they unequivocally and concurrently depose a fact, natural or supernatural, aims a fatal blow at the foundation of all certainty, natural and moral--at the foundation of all science, material and mental?[72]

Several considerations are contained in this paragraph. (1) The senses were used to supply raw data out of which the regular laws of nature are derived. To deny their testimony when they present data contrary to natural law was illogical. (2) One understood supernatural facts via the senses that one normally used for natural facts. The senses might be weak, faulty, or impaired, and to this extent inadequate, and such inadequacy would affect supernatural and natural sense impressions alike. Inadequate senses should be strengthened through concentration on the development of the physical body.[73] (3) If one accepted the senses' testimony for natural facts and rejected their testimony for supernatural facts, the preference was arbitrary and illogical. The credentials of the testifier--man's senses--could be called into question, but once the credentials were approved, all their testimony had to be accepted.[74] Short of this conclusion, one could not even be sure that he had found any natural laws. Partial skepticism would lead to complete skepticism.

---

[71] PLA, 146.

[72] Ibid., 145.

Campbell held that all knowledge had its origin in experience. Ideas in the mind came via the senses (see IV,4). Having accepted this empirical doctrine and having denied intuitive knowledge (be it Platonic, Plotinian, or Kantian), the idea of God, though supernatural in origin, had to come into the mind via the senses, Campbell insisted. In the Campbell-Owen debate, which made Campbell famous on the frontier,[75] he asked Owen, the

---

[73] MH 1831, 487.

[74] Winfred E. Garrison, The Sources of Alexander Campbell's Theology, A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculties of the Graduate Schools of Art, Literature and Science in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Chicago (St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1900), p. 203.

[75] Garrison and DeGroot, 197-99; Lard, 269.

English industrialist, materialist, and Utopian reformer, to agree that anything known came through the five senses. Owen agreed. Although believing in a God, Owen asserted that Divinity had not given any revelation to man. Whereupon Campbell questioned how one could have knowledge (or an idea) about God when God had never been seen, heard, tasted, felt, nor smelled. Campbell posed the skeptic's dilemma in this manner:

> The Christian idea of an Eternal First Cause uncaused, or of a God, is now in the world, and has been for ages immemorial. You say it could not enter into the world by reason, and [you say] it did not enter by revelation. Now, as you are philosophers and historians, and have all the means of knowing, How did it come into the world?[76]

Garrison stated the problem this way:

> Granted that we can have no natural knowledge or idea of God, it is nevertheless true that we actually do have such an idea. Our ideas of spiritual things are facts to be explained. They must have a cause and that cause, since it cannot be the natural reason, must be divine revelation.[77]

Campbell claimed that skeptics, as well as others, had fallaciously claimed that man had discovered God through nature; that is, the universe was an effect of the First Cause. But Campbell countered: "That nature is an effect, is not to be gathered from analogy, from abstract reasonings, or from any data in all the premises over which philosophy has legitimate sway."[78] As George

---

[76] Campbell and Owen, 123.

[77] Garrison, 191.

[78] PLA, 283.

Alder well stated:

> Campbell was contending that any argument which arrives at God through the basic assumption that the universe is an effect is specious, for apart from revelation no one would know that the universe was an effect.[79]

Campbell held that the world was the effect of God; but one really could not know this to be true apart from revelation.

> To require us, then, to know a designer, in order to the proving of a design, is to require us to know a matter which is to be proved, that we may prove the evidences by which we are to prove itself [sic]!
>
> To make a designer the proof of design, is absurdity itself. How can we know a designer? By looking into his cranium, and seeing his thoughts?[80]

His answer was "no." One had knowledge of God by "observing his outward manifestations of mind."[81] These manifestations, the things He had said and done, told man of God because revelation confirmed that God existed. Pointing out the danger of arguing from effect to cause without some way of validating the inquiry, Campbell struck at Owen with a "penknife":

> When I hear a Deist talking about "the light of nature" and "the great God of nature," I am reminded of the school boy, who stole a penknife; and when

---

[79] George Alder, "Alexander Campbell's Invention in the Debate with Robert Owen" (A Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Department of Speech and Drama, San Jose State College, July, 1959), p. 74.

[80] MH 1831, 149.

[81] Ibid.

> charged with the fact, said, he found it growing upon an apple tree. . . . In like manner the reasonings of the Deists, upon their own premises, show that their conclusions do not logically follow. You might as well look for penknives growing upon appletrees as for Lord Herbert's doctrine in the mind of a savage. There is no stopping-place between Atheism and Christianity.[82]

In Campbell's thinking the reason for revelation beyond that of proving the existence of God was man's moral need: God wanted "to impress the moral image of God upon the moral nature of man."[83] A truly rational man had to admit that only God could tell man of God; that only God was sufficiently knowledgeable about man to give him moral direction. Short of revelation, man lived in an absurd world.

4. Summary. Campbell's consuming passion for the Scriptures is evident, beginning with his early acquaintance with the Bible. Disillusioned with Presbyterian and Baptist doctrine, he, along with his father, had taken the Bible as the sole guide in religious and moral matters. This Irish youth developed a biblical pragmatism rooted in the belief that problems related to the Scriptures were to be solved by the Scriptures.

Campbell revered the Bible. He proclaimed the Bible's worth and debated its necessity, desiring its control over personal decisions. His support of various evangelical Bible organizations and his advocacy of a new translation of the Bible further indicate his biblical addiction. Friend and foe alike testified to its preeminence in his life.

---

[82] Campbell and Owen, 125.

[83] CS, 319.

Much of the impetus for Campbell's biblical concern derived from his belief that the Bible was divine revelation. Directed in a rational manner to rational men, it would morally orient him to God and his fellow man. Man cooperated with God in this moral undertaking; revelation was the coupling. Man-made creeds and speculations were useless, and men who dogmatized through such moral contrivances trespassed God's domain. God had not authenticated any man-made creed. Creeds were men's "toys."[84] The Bible was God's "moral engine." This latter theme focused much of Campbell's work. His views on education gain their distinctive character from it.

> The Bible is, indeed, the tongue of creation. . . . It speaks in the still small voice of morning and evening, in the conscience, in the heart and in the soul of man. It was the great moral engine of ancient civilization . . . .[85]

---

[84] FLP, 306.

[85] PLA, 237.

PART III

THE MAN AND HIS IDEAS ON MORAL EDUCATION

Chapter IV

PHILOSOPHICAL-THEOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS BASIC TO CAMPBELL'S MORAL EDUCATION

1. The Attack on Traditional Philosophy.

Campbell attacked traditional metaphysics and logic and labeled their chief architect, Aristotle, the "despot of all knowledge." His metaphysical essences had rendered "darkness visible,"[1] and his logic, a "great effort of human ingenuity," had yielded no new knowledge;[2] in fact,

> it was the mistaken attempt to employ it [Aristotle's logic] for this purpose, that so long excluded the proper method of entering on philosophical researches, and filled the minds of men with mere words and confused notions.[3]

Campbell pegged Aristotle as a materialist, who, like Orpheus, thought the "whole universe one divine animal. Aristotle . . . held that God and matter were co-eternal, and that there is some such union among them as exists between the soul and body."[4] Campbell contended that the prism of skepticism, whether refracting the hues of pantheism, polytheism, or materialism, received its light from "the vagaries of the human mind. At one time, and in some circumstances, it sees a god in everything; at another time, and in other circumstances, it sees a god in nothing."[5] To unravel "the origin and nature of all those relations in which mankind stand to the Creator and toward one another as immortal beings"[6] was the job of revealed religion, not human speculation. If theology were philosophically oriented, it participated in the same weakness of speculation. Campbell had little confidence in professionally trained clerics (see II,4,a and b), especially when their ministry evidenced undue speculative concern.

---

[1] MH 1835, 21; PLA, 75, 98.

[2] MH 1835, 20-22.

[3] Ibid., 21.

[4] Campbell and Owen, 65.

> And if indoctrinated into the stale jargon of scholastic theology, they are still more to be deprecated as unfit for the work of the Christian ministry, properly so called.[7]

But Campbell's abiding interest in the philosophy of the Enlightenment rescued him from being totally antiphilosophical.

2. Campbell's Philosophical-Theological Roots.

a. The Enlightenment Roots. Campbell considered Locke the greatest of philosophers and viewed him as "almost universally accepted."[8] Prior to his year of study at the University of Glasgow (1808-1809), Campbell had studied John Locke's *Letters on Toleration* (1689) and his *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1690), the latter under his father's tutelage.[9]

---

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] *Ibid*., 91.

[7] *MH* 1843, 213.

[8] *MH* 1841, 484.

In 1836 Campbell quoted Locke on the subject of the resurrection,[10] and in a series of five articles in The Millennial Harbinger of 1844, Campbell reprinted material from Locke's original texts on toleration.[11] Locke was "our Christian Philosopher."[12] Garrison, DeGroot, and West testify that Campbell was saturated with the thought of this Enlightenment philosopher;[13] further development of Campbell's thinking will implicitly, if not explicitly, verify the point.

Francis Bacon also appealed to Campbell by his inductive method, which Campbell called "that of reason and common sense."[14] Bacon's treatise against atheism,[15] his stress of "independent thinking,"[16] and his judgment that Scholasticism was "vanity"[17] endeared him to Campbell. Another star in Campbell's galaxy was Isaac Newton, whom he affectionately called "the sage." Some "Choice Sayings of

---

[9] DeGroot, 43.

[10] MH 1836, 251-53.

[11] MH 1844, 95.

[12] Campbell and Owen, 281.

[13] West, 45, 51; MH 1841, 484.

[14] MH 1835, 22.

[15] MH 1862, 107.

[16] MH 1835, 139-40.

[17] MH 1834, 22.

Newton" appeared in The Millennial Harbinger of 1836,[18] but the inductive principles of Newton's method particularly captured Campbell's attention (see VI,2,c). Above all else, Campbell admired Locke, Bacon, and Newton for their defense of the Bible and its relevance to science and philosophy.

> But we need no more striking evidence of the intimate connection between science and the Bible than the well-established fact, that all the great masters of science were believers in the Bible and cherished the hopes which it inspires. Bacon, the founder of inductive philosophy; Locke, the great mental and moral philosopher; and Newton, the interpreter and revealer of nature's secrets, are known to the religious as well as to the scientific world as believers in the Bible and expounders of its doctrine, its precepts, types and promises. They are as eminent for their homage to the Bible as for their devotion to the studies of nature. Philosophy, with them, and Christianity were not at variance.[19]

In a "letter to the Reverend Mr. King," Locke had said concerning the Bible: "It has God for its author, salvation for its end; and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter."[20] Campbell quoted this sentence before the American Bible Union in 1850.

Consciously or unconsciously, Campbell used many of John Locke's theological and biblical arguments during the inception and development of the Restoration Movement, according to George W. Ewing, particularly those expressed by Locke in The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures.[21] DeGroot said that the study of "the influence of John Locke on Campbell . . . has not been overdone."[22]

---

[18] MH 1842, 13.

[19] PLA, 136.

[20] John Locke, The Works of John Locke, Vol. X, p. 306, as quoted by Campbell, PLA, 600.

b. The Scottish Common Sense School. Thomas Reid (1710-1796), if not the founder certainly the chief spokesman for the Common Sense School, had died two years prior to Thomas Campbell's matriculation at the University of Glasgow. The Scottish Common Sense School of Philosophy remained for some time into the nineteenth century the "current British philosophy which gave hearty support to orthodox Christian faith."[23] This support Campbell appreciated.[24] Reid claimed to be more empirical than Locke, but he admitted incorporating intuitive elements into the human moral constitution, that is, the human being had some basic, native sense of right and wrong.[25] Locke claimed that all morality was learned; none of it was intuitively derived. Campbell stood upon this same empirical ground (see IV,4 and 6).

In 1840, Campbell chided both Dugald Stewart

---

[21] John Locke, The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures, edited and introduced by George W. Ewing (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965), pp. xvi-xvii.

[22] DeGroot, 129.

[23] Garrison and DeGroot, 57.

[24] MAC I, 132.

[25] Olin McKendree Jones, Empiricism and Intuitionism in Reid's Common Sense Philosophy (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927), pp. 36-37.

(1753-1828) and Thomas Brown (1778-1820), two of Reid's successors, for mistakenly trusting the authoritative value of philosophical speculation in moral and mental matters. Their moral suppositions were the "pretensions of philosophy," but Campbell conceded, nevertheless, that Stewart was the "greatest of metaphysicians," and that Stewart and Brown were moral philosophers of "Scotch and American fame."[26]

Probably of more importance to Campbell's religious outlook than his attendance at the University of Glasgow was his acquaintance with the Haldane brothers, two wealthy laymen of the Church of Scotland who held revival meetings, organized independent congregations, complained of the sterility of the established church, and advocated the restoration of "the exact pattern of the primitive church in structure, ministry, ordinances, and worship." Campbell's consequent interest, upon coming to the United States, in restoring the primitive church--"the ancient order"--is the more understandable because of his Haldanean connections.[27]

c. The Limitations of Philosophy and Theology. Campbell mistrusted philosophy, particularly the "speculative dogmata" of metaphysics, because it often exceeded its rightful domain and mistakenly spoke authoritatively in religious and moral matters, thus usurping revelation's prerogative.

---

[26] PLA, 101-02.

[27] Garrison and DeGroot, 50-53.

> Philosophy is not the guide of human life, nor is it the parent of all useful arts. . . . She is but a handmaid to true religion and true morality . . . . But she is not necessarily nor at all adverse to Divine faith, piety, or humanity.[28]

The "five points" upon which revelation spoke authoritatively--"the origin, the nature, the relations, the obligations and the destiny of man"--precluded any need for an inductive science of morality, which, if it did exist, could not "settle or develop any one of these five points with any degree of certainty."[29] Even theology had lost its authority due to human adulturation.

As expressed in confessions and creeds, theology was made up of metaphysical technicalities and unintelligible jargon which, "instead of keeping corruptions out of the church, . . . keep them in the church."[30] Campbell found good ammunition in the views of John M. Duncan, minister of the Presbyterian Church, Tammany Street, Baltimore, who in 1825 attacked the "rise, use and unlawfulness"[31] of creeds and confessions of faith. He loaded Duncan's anticredal shells into The Christian Baptist canon and shot away at theological "jargon." Robert West noted:

---

[28] MH 1857, 484.

[29] PLA, 100-02.

[30] CB V, 116.

[31] CB III, 98-102.

> He became a skeptic of all established religious absolutism but also he was a skeptic of all established secular absolutism. He was skeptical of what he conceived to be the claims to religious and secular infallibility; but he was equally skeptical of what he regarded as similar claims of infallibility upon the part of the conventional church of nature.[32]

For all his skepticism, Campbell was not outside the arena of theological and philosophical inquiry, to which we now turn.

3. Campbell's Basic Philosophical-Theological Definitions. For an understanding of Campbell's views on moral education, it is necessary to consider his basic assumptions concerning man and mind, God, the universe, and the nature and role of society. Where philosophy ended and theology began in Campbell is difficult to determine. Therefore, this section bears the title "Philosophical-Theological Definitions." This accommodation would have vexed Campbell, who insisted that theology, correctly understood, was based upon revelation and that most philosophy, properly defined, was largely speculation. The brevity with which this matter must be treated dictates a largely synthesized approach.

a. Man's Nature. Man was the summum bonum of God's creation and at the same time, "the end of this sublunary creation."[33]

---

[32] West, 53.

[33] MH 1839, 234.

> God called the father of our race Adam, translated man, which is equivalent to mien or image. Thus derived in sense as well as in fact, a man was originally a terrestial image, or species, or likeness of God,--a rational, moral agent, susceptible of knowing, loving, admiring, enjoying, resembling and adoring God. The perfection of such a constitution is the perfection and, therefore, the ultimate destiny of man, as now placed under a remedial system.[34]

Man's nature indicated his inherent worth in God's sight. Although man had an "animal, intellectual and moral nature,"[35] he constitutionally was "differentially a moral being, and created for moral uses and ends."[36] Campbell viewed man's three constitutional characteristics (and their respective subsidiary qualities) as integrated, not distinct entities.

> . . . the moral (nature), is, by some, made to include the religious nature and constitution of man. We cannot dissect the inward as we do the outward man. . . . Nor can we separate the constituents of the intellectual man. We can, indeed, learnedly speak of perception, reason, judgment, memory, imagination; but we cannot separate and discriminate the lines within which they operate and cooperate. And still more subtle the moral man, and too remote from all personal analysis. Indeed, the phrase or term "moral constitution" is more current and popular than appreciable by most thinkers and speakers . . . .[37]

Campbell rejected Cartesian dualism, for man was composed of body, soul, and spirit, according to Paul's statement in I Thessalonians 5:23: " . . . and may your spirit and soul and body be preserved entire. . . ."

---

[34] MH 1849, 435.

[35] PLA, 231.

[36] MH 1852, 366.

[37] PLA, 302.

> The whole divine philosophy of man, according to Paul, is thus condensed or concentrated into a nutshell. It is this: Man's spirit by his soul, and his soul by its organ of many nerves, (the brain,) operates upon a world within him; and his spirit by his soul, and his soul by its organ, (the brain,) and the brain by its organ, (the body,) operates upon a world without him.[38]

Man's body came from earthly elements; his soul animated the body, as in any other animal; the spirit of man was that "special emanation" breathed into man in the creation.[39] Campbell affirmed that the "elements . . . of the spirit are superior to those of the soul" principally in that man's eternal spirit, given by God, returned to Him upon death.[40]

Campbell drew a trinitarian comparison of God's nature and man's nature.

> While Jehovah has a trinity of personalities in one nature, man has a trinity of natures in one personality. He has an animal nature, an intellectual nature and a moral nature.[41]

Body, soul, and spirit are here correlative to the terms animal, intellectual, and moral nature. In the same passage he further analyzed the "animal body, animal soul and rational spirit." Campbell's parallels result in the following classification: (1) body, defined as animal nature and animal body; (2) soul, defined as intellectual nature and animal soul; and (3) spirit, defined as moral nature and rational spirit. So Campbell wrote in 1828:

---

[38] _Ibid_., 196, 231; _CB_ VI, 7-9.

[39] _FLP_, 90-91.

[40] _Ibid_., 92.

[41] _PLA_, 230-31.

> The spirit has the faculties we call the powers of understanding; the soul has its passions and affections; the body has its organs and their functions. In man reason and all intelligence, belong to the spirit, together with volition in its primary character. All the passions and affections belong to the soul, and are identified with animal life; all the appetites and propensities belong to the body.[42]

But Campbell failed to distinguish nicely between the three elements because, he thought, "so united are these constituents of man, that what one does the others do likewise."[43] In spite of Campbell's express dislike for Aristotelian and Augustinian thought, he derived his emphasis upon the interrelatedness of human faculties and powers from Aristotle, who, in spite of his trinitarian view, emphasized the over-all unitary nature of the three in one (refined and adapted by early Christian dogmatists, notably Augustine). In placing a lower value on the passions and affections by identifying them with the mortal soul, Campbell could consistently advocate in his theory of moral education the unity of the intellectual and the moral, both identified with man's eternal spirit (see V,2,a).

Campbell's interest in faculty psychology led him to examine the phrenological experiments of

---

[42] CB VI, 9.

[43] Ibid.

Dr. George Combe of the University of Edinburgh (1788-1858), but he was disappointed to find that Combe judged the Bible by phrenology whereas Campbell believed the worth of phrenology should have been measured by the Bible (see III,3,a). Combe's assertion that man had never fallen but was becoming better all the time was denounced by Campbell as a "capital error."[44] Always suspicious of the mystical, Campbell, in an address on "Phrenology, Animal Magnetism, Clairvoyance, etc." delivered at Washington College, Pennsylvania, in 1852, concluded

> . . . that Spirit speaks in a style of lofty argument, of moral dignity and Divine grandeur, worthy of a Christian's heaven; of such a being as God, and of such a being as man, viewed in all the sublime and awful outlines of his moral nature, his lofty port and heavenward aspirations, and not in the grimace and silly buffoonery of those spirits that peep and mutter tales unworthy of man, and still more unworthy of woman. From such demons, such silly demons, whether of imagination, fraud or fiction, let every man and woman of self-respect, of good sense and of sound discretion, turn away with scorn and contempt.[45]

The dignity of man and his high destiny were prominent in Campbell's thinking.

The concept of mind, though encumbered by Campbell's many and sundry synonyms which complicate an analysis, seems to conform generally to the analysis that he presented in the Campbell-Owen Debate. He stated that the mind consisted of three principal faculties: (1) perception, which permitted man "to discriminate between different sensations and become acquainted with things external;" (2) memory, or imagination, "which [have] reference to recalling things past" and which become, as a result, a part of the reflective activity of man's mind; and (3) consciousness, which referred to something like an "internal eye" that permitted man to observe all the other operations of the mind.[46]

---

[44] PLA, 186-212; MH 1852, 541-67.

[45] PLA, 212.

Reason was not a part of the regular faculties of the mind for the "hand of the soul" which compared and decided and yet was neither "comparison or decision" operated only on the ideas introduced into the mind.[47] As late as 1861 Campbell wrote:

> There is, however, no innate light on what is called reason, anymore than there is innate light in what is called conscience, or innate material light in what is called the human eye. We have essays, if not volumes, without number, of profound nonsense upon "inner light," "light of reason," "light of conscience." To the reflecting and discriminating mind, these three are quite as outre and as outlawed as would be the conscience of reason, the conscience of light, or the conscience of love.[48]

Functionally, reason was a comprehensive term used by Campbell to describe "thinking,"[49] which was "the positive, actual application of the mind to its internal constitution, states and actions, and to its external objects of perception and reflection."[50]

---

[46] Campbell and Owen, 75.

[47] MH 1831, 486.

[48] MH 1861, 141.

[49] MH 1831, 486.

Not only was man important as evidenced by his moral-mental make-up, but his destiny likewise confirmed his value in God's sight.

> But how is this grandeur, this true greatness and glory, to be achieved? It commences first in thinking right; next in feeling right, and then in doing right. We . . . are . . . not mere animals; . . . true beauty is . . . moral excellence; . . . true honor is . . . the smiles of the God of heaven.[51]

That the moral nature was the most treasured aspect of man's make-up and the means by which he achieved his destiny was stated by Campbell in one of his lectures at Bethany College:

> The superiority of man is strikingly developed . . . . Wonderful and grand are the qualities that distinguish man from all things else; for there is no creature beside man . . . capable of being inducted into the conception of a moral idea.[52]

b. The Godhead. The Christian System (1835) was as systematic a treatment of Campbell's theology as he ever wrote. It contained a section listing the biblical qualities of God, followed by a synthesis of these scattered biblical quotes, the heart of which was contained in the following:

> God appears before the universe of intellectuals in the threefold attitude of Creator, Lawgiver,

---

[50] MH 1852, 368.

[51] MH 1851, 439-43.

[52] FLP, 91.

> and Redeemer; and, although each of these involves and reveals many of his excellencies, still in each department three are most conspicuous. As Creator, wisdom, power, and goodness; as Lawgiver, justice, truth, and holiness; as Redeemer, mercy, condescension, and love. In each and all of which departments he is infinite, immutable, and eternal.[53]

The doctrine of the Trinity received some attention from Campbell. He advocated using the biblical term "Godhead" instead of the traditional term, "trinity,"[54] because the elaborate "philosophical distinctions" of the Trinitarian doctrine were neither biblically affirmed nor denied. "If they are deduced from the Scriptures, we have them in the facts and declarations of God's Spirit; if they are not deduced from the Bible, we are free from all the difficulties and strifes they have engendered and created." As a result of their unbiblical qualities, "from Nice to the last Methodist Council" no one had ever been "converted or sanctified to God by any of these controversies about human dogmas."[55] At least the name, if not much of the philosophical language, surrounding the doctrine of the Trinity was superfluous, if not injurious. The safer way was "to speak of Bible things by Bible words," said Campbell, "because we are always suspicious that if the word is not in the Bible, the idea which it represents is not there . . . ."[56]

---

[53] CS, 20.

[54] Christian Baptism, 20.

[55] CS, 133-35.

[56] Ibid., 134; CB II, 222-23.

Campbell's Christology takes its cue from his Trinitarian position, for not only did he list the qualities of God in The Christian System but he also cited a dozen biblical quotations which named various qualities of Christ, accompanied by only six incidental words of connection or explanation. Christ was "the Word incarnate or dwelling in human flesh,"[57] and His bodily resurrection "declared [Him] to be the son of God."[58] Campbell, although he was accused of leaning toward Unitarianism, emphatically denied subordinating or impugning Christ.[59] He despised Arianism and Socinianism, and sarcastically wrote:

> The Socinian, who calls Jesus divine, and some others who call him a divine person, because of the gifts of the Holy Spirit bestowed on him, might, in their interpretation of the word divine, find room for Balaam's ass; because that ass was under such plenary inspiration as to have the words suggested, and to speak with the gift of tongues, when it reproved the madness of the Prophet and preached reformation to him. Assuredly it was, in their vocabulary, a divine ass![60]

Campbell wrote, however, in language distinctly non-Calvinistic.

> . . . the phrase, "Son of God" denotes a temporal relation, the phrase "the Word of God" denotes an eternal, unoriginated relation. There was a Word of God from eternity, but the Son of God began to be in the days of Augustus Caesar.[61]

---

[57] CS, 133-35.

[58] Ibid.

[59] MH 1831, 105, 249, 251; 1830, 541, 544; 1833, 8.

[60] MH 1833, 158.

[61] CS, 23; CB IV, 207. See pp. 207-10 for a thorough

Christ was, therefore, the fleshly, temporal expression of a divine eternal idea, for "a word is an idea expressed."[62]

"The Word" and "the Word of God" had a "determinate meaning" in the Scriptures, and were not "equally applicable to all that has been spoken or written in Old Testament or New . . . ."[63] When used to mean "the Word of the Lord," the terms referred to God's will addressed to man in any dispensation.[64] The terms did not refer to the Holy Spirit, for a "discriminating mind" would not confuse the Spirit of God with (1) the incarnate Christ, or (2) God's specific messages to man.[65] When used "after the coronation of the Messiah," the terms were "synonymous with the phrase the gospel . . . ." Since in the Christian dispensation Christ was "the Word become flesh," anyone who misapplied the meaning of these terms was "sadly at fault as a guide to the blind . . . ."[66]

Campbell's doctrine of the Holy Spirit gave him some difficulty, not so much in its nature as in its function. As to nature, the Holy Spirit "stands next to

---

treatment of Campbell's objections to Arian and Calvinistic Trinitarian views.

[62] CS, 23.

[63] MH 1858, 44-45.

[64] Ibid., 45-47.

[65] MH 1861, 139.

[66] MH 1858, 44-47; CS, 34, 181-83; CB IV, 207-10.

the Incarnate Word" and before time "it was GOD, the WORD OF GOD, and the SPIRIT OF GOD. But now, in the development of the Christian scheme, it is 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit' . . . ."[67] Campbell's beliefs concerning the function of the Holy Spirit involved problems that he never quite satisfactorily resolved. As previously noted (see III,3,a), the Holy Spirit was responsible for the inspiration of the Bible, God's revelation to man. Belief of biblical, Holy-Spirit-given testimony was necessary for salvation, but under no circumstances did the Holy Spirit regeneratively operate directly upon man's will or mind in order that he might believe the Holy Spirit's testimony (see IV,7). "The doctrine of physical and irresistible energies of God's Spirit upon unbelieving men, as absolutely and indispensably prerequisite" to his instruction and conversion, was at war with Moses, the prophets, the Lord Jesus, the apostles, the Bible, and "with all and every thing, natural, moral, and religious . . . ."[68]

The Holy Spirit, however, because He was received as a gift upon conversion (Acts 2:38), strengthened the Christian, but His empowering influence was in addition, never in opposition, to the revelation. If someone claimed nonscriptural guidance by the Holy Spirit, Campbell counterclaimed that the Holy Spirit never directed the Christian in spiritual activity contrary to His own word, the Bible.[69]

---

[67] CS, 25.

[68] CB V, 227.

Campbell held, therefore, to the literal indwelling presence of the Holy Spirit in the Christian. Some of his contemporaries in the Disciples of Christ, particularly G. W. Longan,[70] argued that those who believed in the literal indwelling of the Holy Spirit did not recognize the metonomy of effect. Longan believed the gift of the Holy Spirit received by the Christian was salvation; the Holy Spirit did not give Himself as a gift. Longan explained that the Holy Spirit gave revelation and, consequently, was the originating cause by which man came to the ultimate effect--the gift of salvation. That Campbell sensed a difficulty in the manner of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit was attested to by his comment: "But how the uncreated spirit dwells in a created spirit, filling it with joy, we know not; but certain it is that this fellowship is set forth [in the Scriptures] . . . ."[71] If he believed anything was "set forth" in the Scriptures, even the rationalist Campbell accepted it.

Campbell's view concerning the influence of the Holy Spirit upon the believer was intended never to contradict the Bible. Since the Holy Spirit always worked with the Scripture, not beyond or in opposition to it, the study of the Bible became imperative for the Christian. What might appear to be the leading of the Holy Spirit could not be ascertained short of an empirical base against which to judge the leading; that base was the Bible. Therefore, one's personal experience did not determine the meaning of the Scriptures; instead, the Scriptures' meaning determined the validity of the experience.

---

[69] CS, 284.

[70] G. W. Longan, "The Presence of the Holy Spirit in Christians," Lard's Quarterly, Vol. III (1866), pp. 162-77.

[71] CB IV, 224; V, 228-29.

Since morality was not instinctively nor intuitively infused in the heart upon conversion, it was the person's obligation to know the Scriptures both before and after conversion. Since the Holy Spirit indwelled the individual after conversion, it could assist him through its empowering influence to act correctly, if the person knew what correct behavior was; or, upon having had some apparent religious experience, the validity of the experience could be checked against biblical standards. In either case, the objective revelation was superior to the untutored subjective judgment. Campbell closed the door to intuition as either the source for moral correctness or as the final judge of right action. Since the Holy Spirit always worked with the revelation and since the revelation could be examined to determine what the Holy Spirit would or would not do, the determination of the Spirit's work always had an objective base--the Book of God.[72]

---

[72] CB III, 82-84; V, 228-29; VI, 20-23; CS, 18.

c. The Creation and The Universe. The world was the handiwork of God and Genesis' brief record was the authentic account. The time taken for creation posed no problem for Campbell who reasoned that the "days" could have been longer than twenty-four hours since the earth may have originally turned at a much slower rate. Ussher's dates did not impress Campbell and neither did the whole problem that perplexed Ussher and his devotees.[73]

In words charged with more than the usual emotion, Campbell exclaimed

> How much philosophy find we, then, in that beautiful word UNIVERSE! It is a versus in unum. It is everything in motion around one thing, which is immovably fixed. The true centre of gravity is, then, the true centre of motion. But there is not much gravity in a volition. Volitions are ethereal entities. Oh, for Ithuriel's spear, to dissect one of them! Oh, that we could place ourselves yonder, "where fields of light and liquid ether flow!"[74]

In these words Campbell aligned himself with Enlightenment conceptions of universal fixity, but he adjusted the stable universe with a growing nineteenth-century sense of complexity and expanse, noting that

> . . . not only as respects the seventy-five millions of suns and their attendent planets, which fill up the already-discovered fields of ethereal space, but in reference to the various systems, separate, though united; distinct, though amalgamated; heterogeneous, though homogeneous; which are but the component parts of every solar system, of

---

[73] PLA, 151-57.

[74] Ibid.

> every planet in that system, and of every organic and every inorganic mass on each planet.[75]

Arthur B. Edwards saw some sense of an expanding universe in Campbell's thinking.[76] If he did hold to some kind of an expanding, open-ended view of the universe, he viewed it as unfolding, umbrella-like, from a fixed center.

> Now, as the power to know and to enjoy is naturally cumulative and progressive, the objects to be known and enjoyed must be proportionately vast and illimitable. And here again arises a new proof of design and adaptation in this grand and eloquent universe of God.[77]

Whatever his view on the "expanding" or "expansive" physical universe, the universe was moral in design and purpose. Neither God's wisdom to design nor his power to make the universe could sufficiently explain its existence. Both wisdom and power were "passive instruments," argued Campbell; "goodness alone" was "necessarily, eternally, and immutably active . . . essentially and perpetually communicative."[78] Goodness, the cause of all things in the universe, was reflected in man's moral nature and destiny.

---

[75] CS, 13.

[76] Arthur B. Edwards, "Alexander Campbell's Philosophy of Education" (A Thesis Presented to the Graduate Faculty of East Tennessee State College in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Arts, August, 1960), pp. 20-21.

[77] PLA, 96-97.

[78] Ibid., 164.

> The development and perfection of man is truly an infinite series of advances, commensurate with the developments of an infinite God, a boundless universe, and an endless duration. The only being that we have ever seen, whose susceptibilities of development are illimitable, and consequently, unmeasureable, is man.[79]

Campbell lashed out at those who characterized man as "a mere laughing, weeping, eating, talking biped. He is constitutionally and differentially a moral being, and created for moral purposes and uses."[80] Campbell's views on man's place in the universe were not utopian, but his manifest belief in the illimitable susceptibilities of man, particularly the moral, differed from a dour, Calvinistic view of man.

d. Society. "The essential idea in all rational and moral natures is society," said Campbell.[81] Without society man could not possibly realize his dignity and destiny; "without society, the idea of happiness is inconceivable."[82]

> In this vast creation no one lives by himself, or for himself; and therefore, none should live to himself. We must borrow from society a large portion of our happiness, and we must pay that which we have borrowed, and sometimes with interest, too. One individual may, and often does, change the destiny of another for good or for evil. And that good or evil does not always terminate with the individual

---

[79] MH 1852, 363.

[80] Ibid., 366.

[81] MH 1860, 364.

[82] Ibid.

> that creates it. It may continue and increase through many generations.[83]

Viewing society as "the union, communion and copartnery of a few, or of the whole race with one another, in all that is human and divine in our nature,"[84] Campbell emphasized that society was not a haphazard throwing together of people; instead, it was "the union of a simple plurality . . . of the human race in all common interests."[85] These "common interests" were in constant flux and transition, so much so that succeeding generations scarcely could have recognized their inheritance; and given the opportunity, the present generation should not have been able to have recognized the future.[86]

But more important than the change in society was its almost inevitable improvement. "_Society and civilization are yet in their childhood_. However great the distance they have advanced, that which they have before them is incomparably, is infinitely greater."[87] Campbell's optimism, however, about social progress, especially in America, was tempered by one contingency: the need for moral education. He shook his finger at those rational enthusiasts who mistakenly thought that a person automatically acquired the moral along with the intellectual (see V,2,a). Ancient Greek and Roman societies had equalled, if not excelled, modern society in certain rational attainments but with respect to morality had been "uncivilized and barbarous."[88]

---

[83] _MH_ 1851, 438.

[84] _PLA_, 47-48.

[85] _Ibid_.

[86] _Ibid_., 54.

[87] _Ibid_.

Slowly society was becoming civilized, however. According to Campbell, a society necessitated a commonly held intellectual culture; in addition, a civilization exhibited a moral posture of "genuine feelings and expressions of benevolence, brotherly kindness and charity . . . ."[89]

The interaction of the individual and society in Campbell's social consciousness was conspicuous. "It is for society, and for society alone, that man possesses a moral nature";[90] and yet without society man could not realize his happiness because it depended upon the realization of his moral nature. Man changed the outside world and the outside world in turn changed him; but the common meeting ground of society and the individual was first, last, and always the moral principles of the Bible (see V,4,d). "And what is either individual or social goodness or humanity, but the proper combination of three ingredients--justice, truth and piety? No nation ever survived the death of these three principles . . . ."[91] For that reason "the cause of education . . . is the most transcendent cause in any and every community. . . . How necessary, then, that it be conducted according to the genius of true religion and true humanity! How important that it be founded on the Bible . . . ."[92]

---

[88] Ibid., 55.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Ibid., 463.

4. Sense Experience, Ideas, and Moral Knowledge. Robert West remarked that "at no point was Campbell more consistent throughout his career than in his theory of knowledge."[93] Campbell clearly stated that "experiment will prove, beyond all doubt, that there is no idea in the mind of man that cannot be traced to the operation of the senses."[94] Since "all true or real knowledge is but experience,"[95] without the senses nothing could be experienced and consequently nothing known. All the mind could do was form "ideas in accordance with the sensations impressed upon the brain."[96] Impaired senses meant limited knowledge; the restriction or absence of objects and events upon which the senses could operate also meant limited knowledge.

---

[91] *Ibid.*, 180.

[92] *Ibid.*, 177.

[93] West, 90.

[94] *MH* 1841, 487.

[95] *MH* 1853, 423.

[96] Campbell and Owen, 151.

Campbell expressed it this way: "Take away or impair the outward senses, or the objects on which they act, and I am like Sampson [sic] shorn and his eyes extinguished."[97]

Campbell's view of the mind was essentially that of Locke's tabula rasa or blank tablet.[98] The mind did not recollect knowledge (ideas) in a Platonic manner upon the reception of appropriate stimuli; instead, the content of knowledge had its source in the sensations derived from the external world. Campbell emphasized that there were "many ideas formed in infancy, by the aid of the senses, that we can have no recollection as to the mode of their formation; but they came by the aid of the senses nevertheless."[99] Locke had pursued this question, arguing that universal common experience did not prove universally held innate ideas; rather, commonly held ideas were derived from common experience, not common experience from universally held innate ideas.[100]

The acceptance of the epistemological base that the senses operated upon objects or events in order to produce an idea in the mind forced the axiological conclusion that necessity demanded an objective standard of right and wrong in the person's experience before any idea could be held in the mind concerning right and wrong. The knowledge of moral standards came into the mind through natural perception and consciousness as did any other idea initially.[101]

---

[97] MH 1831, 487.

[98] John Locke, An Essay Concerning Human Understanding (Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, reprint, 1956), Book II, Chapter I.

[99] MH 1841, 488.

[100] Locke, op. cit., Book II, Ch. IX; PLA, 97-99.

Campbell differed with the intuitionists who claimed that the innate human constitution, not the Bible, contained the basic moral standards. Man, in Campbell's opinion, had absolutely no sense of right or wrong apart from objective revelation. Because the intuitionist (the transcendalist, in this case) argued that man was "created in the image of God," and thus "must have some part of God's power in him" was no reason to assume that a part of that creation included an inherent moral sense of right and wrong. "They assume," Campbell said, "that there _should be_ an 'intuitive power of discerning truth,' or else how will they find out truth? But had they not better prove first that man by his present constitution _can_ possess this intuitive power?"[102] Campbell argued that universally it could be shown that man did not live morally above his experience, and thus it was the superiority or inferiority of his moral experience that determined his moral standards, not innate ideas of right and wrong. Campbell admitted that any pagan morality, however poor or limited, might appear to have come from some innate sense of right and wrong, but he insisted that the poor standard could have just as easily come from a degenerated tradition of right and wrong, which originally had an objective divine source.[103] This explanation would more easily account for inadequate moral consciousness than would the only other possibility, that pagan people had an inferior innate sense of right and wrong. For Campbell, an objective, empirically observed standard could account for everything moral in the world, good or bad.[104] Poor morality, in effect, was the result of a poor moral experience. Likewise, good morality was the effect of a good moral experience. A good moral experience depended upon exposure to biblical ideas of right and wrong, but Campbell did not contend that mere exposure to biblical standards would _ipso_ _facto_ produce good morality.

---

[101] Campbell and Owen, 173 ff.

[102] _MH_ 1841, 488.

Campbell was certain that the general lack of morality in society was correlated with the lack of proper biblical knowledge. The term "proper" is the key word, for Campbell recognized that the American society possessed a great fund of religious knowledge. But the subversion of biblical morality by an admixture of ecclesiastical and philosophical jargon had diluted the practical effects of morality (see II,4,a,b,c). A person's morality could not exceed the degree of that person's understanding of the Bible.[105] So at the feet of biblical misinterpretation and misunderstanding Campbell laid the lack of good moral action. "The moral sense or conscience," said Campbell, "is that power which, when properly educated, dictates and appreciates the character of actions . . . ." Moral education was "founded upon the Bible, and the Bible alone . . . ."[106]

---

[103] _PLA_, 108-10.

[104] _Ibid_., 122, 278, 283, 296, 303.

The Bible, then, when properly understood and brought into the observation and experience of mankind, would affect moral renovation. To depend upon an innate sense of right and wrong, nurtured or unnurtured, to direct man in his moral relations violated both Campbell's biblical centricity and basic empirical methodology.

> Having no innate idea of things beyond the region of sense, he [man] can never, _a priori_, or from some beau ideal universe, conclude what is right or wrong, good or evil, with respect to himself and others . . . . He could as easily construct, for himself, a palace on earth without any materials, or rear a temple in heaven, as create one idea beyond the sphere of his own observation and experience.[107]

Campbell made it clear that "the revelations of Deity, however, have no absolute and independent power of making impressions . . . ."; indeed, "their power is relative, depending upon the nature or the state of the mind to which they are presented" (see IV,5-6).[108]

---

[105] _MH_ 1841, 487-88.

[106] _PLA_, 303.

[107] _MH_ 1850, 125.

5. Free Will and Moral Knowledge. The will was free to act upon that which was presented to the understanding, according to Campbell. "The freedom of the human will, so long debated, is practically that liberty which we realize that we possess to act in conformity to, or with, the last and the best dictate of our understanding, on all the premises submitted." He further explained that "this liberty is *felt*, is *recognized*, by those capable of analyzing the workings or processes of their own thoughts, volitions, and decisions . . . submitted to their choice or decision."[109] The "chain of command" was described by Campbell: "The will commands the attention; the attention commands the powers of perception to their post; then summonses the powers of reflection, memory, imagination, as the case may require, and places judgment [reason] over them, who directs their operations."[110] Campbell's faculty psychology, clearly evident in the foregoing quotation, is dealt with later (see VI,2,a and b).

The motivation to act was present in that which was acted upon--the object itself. Campbell noted, however, that motivation toward the desirable should not be solely for self-seeking advantage. Treading a fine line, he wrote that

---

[108] *Ibid.*, 14.

[109] *MH* 1861, 228.

[110] *MH* 1835, 485.

> There is a reasonable and an unreasonable selfishness. No man, no angel, can love another better than he loves himself. God, therefore, never required it from angel or from man. But it is possible that an angel, or that an unfallen man, could love another as he loved himself. We have one invincible argument for this, and one invincible argument is all that true reason can demand in any case. That argument is that God not only enacted this law, but that he made it the standard of perfection and the guarantee of happiness. Indeed, it is with me an aphorism, that absolute perfection is absolute happiness. That neither of these can exist without the other, in any rank of intellectual and moral agents, is to me as plain and evident as the mathematical axiom, "that things that are equal to the same, are equal to one another."[111]

Campbell argued against Robert Owen's assertion "that each individual is so created that he must believe according to the strongest impressions made upon his feelings and faculties, and that his belief in no case depends upon his will."[112] Campbell pointedly asked how Owen could be an exception to his own law, since the strongest impressions made upon Owen in his youth had been the plight of the working classes in England, and yet Owen had attempted to alleviate these conditions. Obviously Owen did not believe in the necessity of labor's adverse working conditions; why not, if man's "belief in no case depends upon his will" but was occasioned only by the "strongest impressions"?[113]

---

[111] MH 1854, 425.

[112] Campbell and Owen, 52. Owen's own words.

[113] *Ibid.*, 44.

Campbell was convinced that necessity destroyed virtue. Owen, as interpreted by Campbell, had argued that lack of social virtue in the world was due to necessity since man had not created himself and was therefore not responsible. Campbell called Owen "short-sighted" for his position and asked: "Will not this principle of necessity inevitably exterminate all good, kind, and generous feelings?"[114] Owen himself had some "good, kind, and generous feelings" because he had proposed to change certain malevolent conditions in society, and in some cases, had actually done so. But if the absence of social virtue was occasioned by man's irresponsible actions brought about because of necessity, Campbell questioned how Owen could logically campaign for the reversal of necessity by people who were no better than necessarily irresponsible. Campbell concluded that Owen agreed with him that "we change our circumstances, and our circumstances change us,"[115] and that freedom meant responsible human action, which Owen had amply demonstrated in his own philanthropic pursuits. Of course Owen did not so conclude.

Testimony was essential to belief, according to Campbell, and when that testimony was sufficient, man's determination or volition might constrain belief. God's testimony was compelling but not compulsory in its effect upon the mind, for one acted ultimately out of self-interest, that is, acted voluntarily and according to reason.[116] The mind could examine and re-examine any issue before willing to act, but Campbell, noting man's limitations and his lack of complete freedom, did not subscribe to the idea that limited freedom meant no freedom.[117] Without freedom of will, however limited, man would have no responsibility to himself or to others. Man was a dependent, not an independent, creature, since freedom to act was valueless unless man had a standard by which to gauge the responsibleness (value) of his actions.[118] In moral issues the gauge was the will of God as contained in the Bible, and man could act responsibly only when he acted rationally and willingly according to biblical authority.[119]

---

[114] *Ibid*., 56.

[115] *Ibid*., 57.

6. The Relation of Man's Powers to Moral Experience. In one of his lectures on morality, "Is Moral Philosophy an Inductive Science?" Campbell elucidated four powers of man that had guided him through his historical pilgrimage, namely, the powers of instinct, sense, reason, and faith. To some degree all of these powers had some connection with man's proper relationship to God and other men.[120]

---

[116] *Ibid.*, 73.

[117] *Ibid.*, 44.

[118] *Ibid.*, 66-67.

[119] *Ibid.*, 58-59.

[120] *PLA*, 116.

Campbell described instinct as

> that innate or natural rule of life, which God has written upon and incorporated with the nature of every animal; by which it is enabled to govern itself, in order to the full enjoyment of all its powers and susceptibilities, and so much of the universe as is suited to its nature.[121]

Instinct was infallible in its own dominion unless it had been impaired by disease. Nevertheless, man had few and feeble instinctive powers and surely would have perished from the earth if he had been left exclusively to their rudimentary direction. The instincts could not be improved through education since they gained nothing through experience; they were what they were--nothing more and nothing less.[122]

The five senses--sight, touch, taste, smell, and hearing--did not distinguish man from other animals, for "in this endowment man is not singular."[123] Although not distinguishing, the senses were very important to man since all ideas, according to Campbell, originate in the sense experience. The power of reason was third in Campbell's hierarchy of powers and it did distinguish man from the animal, although Campbell was quick to point out the limitations of that distinction:

> But he has intellect--he has reason; and this greatly compensates for those inferiorities; and

---

[121] *Ibid.*, 116-17.

[122] *Ibid.*

[123] *Ibid.*, 117.

> yet there are many creatures that seem to possess it in some degree: still it is man's great perfection, by which he rises above the beasts that perish. . . . But when accurately defined, it is only a power bestowed on man, of comparing things, and propositions concerning things, and of deducing propositions from them. It is the faculty of discriminating one name, or thing, or attribute from another, and of forming just conceptions of it. . . . It is to the soul what the eye is to the body. It is not light, but the power of perceiving and using it. . . . She modestly avows her inability to unfold, or even to ascertain the origin, nature or end of any thing. Her verdict in the case before us is, that he who presumes to walk by the light of reason in these great matters [matters peculiarly moral] is not more eminently insane, than he who assumes to walk by his eyes in the midst of utter darkness.[124]

As previously indicated (see IV,3,a), Campbell believed that reason had its limitations; it was not a "creative power." He even accused certain philosophers of deifying reason by presuming that within its own power it could create something out of nothing. But reason was no more than the eye of the soul, as the natural eye was to the body. The eye could create no light; neither could reason.

> Reason has no more creative or originating power than the carpenter's rule, or the grocer's scales. Reason has to do with things actually existing; and its whole province is to notice, compare, and distinguish the objects submitted or presented to its measurement. It compares these objects, notes their similarities and their dissimilarities, and decides upon their agreement or disagreement. It affirms or denies, as the case may be. It neither creates nor annihilates any thing.[125]

The whole domain of reason was to observe, classify and deduce; "like each of the five senses, it takes cognizance of its own premises. Not one of them can perform the duties of another."[126]

---

[124] Ibid., 117-18.

[125] MH 1859, 252.

"But the ennobling faculty of man is faith."[127] Because man had the power to believe, he could accept the testimony of another source, and therefore did not have to learn everything first hand. The faculty of faith permitted him to encompass "the area of universal experience" and appropriate "the acquisitions of all men in all ages of time."[128] In the long run, Campbell thought, men were indebted much more to faith than they were to instinct, the senses, or reason. "In one word, then, from an invincible necessity of nature, we are indebted to faith for millions of ideas, for one obtained by our own personal sensations, observations or reflections."[129] The child, for instance, lived his early life almost entirely on the basis of faith. He did not prove by reason the letters of the alphabet; he accepted them by faith. To Campbell, it was as true in matters physical as in matters spiritual that "men lived by faith" and if they did not, they would destroy themselves.[130]

---

[126] *Ibid.*, 252-53.

[127] *PLA*, 118.

[128] *Ibid.*

[129] *Ibid.*

[130] *Ibid.*

Further, reason and faith were not competitors, as some mistakenly thought.

> Permit me, then, to say in behalf of reason, that she assumes to be only a minister to faith, as she is to religion and morality. She examines the testimony, and decides upon its pretensions. In this sense, intellect and reason are as necessary to faith as they are to moral excellence; for a creature destitute of reason is alike incapable of faith, morality and religion.[131]

Reason, then, labored as hard as faith because all the material brought to the attention of reason came either through personal experience or by testimony of some other personal experience, all of which came under the surveillance of reason. Ultimately the Bible came under reason's scrutiny. "Faith receives that testimony, and common sense walks by it."[132] As West expressed it: "Reason has a humble place in Campbell's epistemology, as it does in John Locke's. Reasonableness, to both, allows for mystery. Cold rationalism is not implied in their writings when taken as a whole."[133] In 1844 Campbell attacked rank rationalism as the most dangerous enemy of the church.[134]

Campbell's claim that intuitionism and/or rationalism failed to provide a standard of morality necessitated his explaining how morality then came into the human experience.[135] In the beginning of time God had given His original, infallible, moral law to guide man. Since its institution, however, a gradual process of erosion had so weakened the original law, carried along by tradition, that it failed in most cases to effectively regulate man. The original and pure God-given morality drifted through various Asiatic channels into Greece and ultimately Rome, where it was polluted by philosophical speculation.[136] Moral infallibility was lost. But God again spoke to man, gave him an additional infallible standard in the New Testament, and instructed him to accept it via faith; for "unless he have it in his faith in divine testimony, in a revelation internal and external, he is an anomaly in creation--the solitary exception to a law which, but for him, would be universal."[137]

---

[131] Ibid., 120.

[132] Ibid., 120-21.

[133] West, 100.

[134] MH 1844, 145-47.

The charge that a person was more apt to be deceived by faith than by reason amused Campbell. After all, any man lived by faith and not by reason alone because his God-given constitution necessitated it. Man could believe testimony because reason could demonstrate its reasonableness. Thus when God gave testimony to be believed, reason judged it to be acceptable. Although reason and faith were both necessary, faith was the nobler. "Reason is as blind as the carpenter's rule. It sees nothing without light.

---

[135] PLA, 95-124; Campbell and Owen, 166.

[136] PLA, 108-09.

[137] Ibid., 119.

When enlightened by the Bible it is all potent of good. When unenlightened by that book it is wholly incompetent to guide humanity one step heavenward."[138]

Speculative philosophy had proven itself incapable of giving man infallible axioms for moral action (see V,4,a). "All Christians, therefore, test philosophy by the Bible, but never the Bible by philosophy. Philosophy at best, is but the reason or wisdom of man, while the Bible is both the reason and wisdom of God."[139] Faith enabled man to have that which he could not secure by any other means. Moral law was not present in the natural world, but even if it were present, it would have been unreasonable of God to expect man to have found it. Thus God revealed moral law to be accepted by faith and affirmed by reason. Such an arrangement was altogether reasonable.

> Need I add, to disclose such secrets [moral necessities]--to reveal such mysteries--and to guide man in a path that leads to such a destiny [ultimate redemption and happiness], is not the province of philosophy [speculation]--of the mere light of nature or of reason; but the peculiar and worthy object of a communication supernatural and divine? And such a volume we have in that much neglected, but incomparably, sublime and awful volume--the BIBLE.[140]

7. The Nature of Conversion and Salvation. Campbell noted Calvin's claim that "the human mind was

---

[138] MH 1859, 256.

[139] MH 1857, 482.

[140] PLA, 124.

naturally endowed with the knowledge of God," having had "the seeds of divinity . . . sown in the nature of man."[141] Campbell confidently thought, however, that Locke had "exploded the doctrine of innate ideas";[142] no one had any idea of God unless he learned it. For that reason the sinner was active in regeneration since his mind was "a thinking, rational principle."[143] Thus when Calvinists claimed that any activity of the unregenerated mind was necessarily against God, Campbell shrugged off the matter as a "comfortable theory."[144] The empirical, nonintuitive thought of Campbell can be seen in his reaction to "Calvinism's Five Points,"[145] or more accurately, the "Five Points" of the Synod of Dort, 1618-1619.[146] Campbell came close to being an Arminian in his position on the Five Points, although he insisted that both were "equidistant from the true Gospel."[147] Campbell's position on the Five Points follows:

---

[141] CB III, 5. Campbell quoted John Calvin's Institutes of the Christian Religion, Book I, Chapter iii. See The Library of Christian Classics, Vols. XX-XXI (London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1961). Calvin received varied treatment from Campbell--sometimes praised, sometimes attacked. On one occasion Campbell said that the "old reformer" was too strong when he said "we are baptized, we are washed and purified for the whole of life" (Institutes, Book IV, Ch. xv). But Campbell concluded that the whole of Calvin's treatise (three paragraphs) on baptism almost qualified him as a "Campbellite." MH 1833, 546-47.

[142] CB III, 5.

[143] Ibid.

[144] Ibid.

[145] MH 1831, 109.

[146] CS, 4.

(1) Campbell believed Adam had originally sinned, but Campbell did not believe that sin had been imparted to future generations, rendering them totally depraved or unable voluntarily to turn to God for salvation. Rather, each man bore the penalty of his own sin which he learned, even as Adam had done, and which would culturally affect future generations. Man's sinful nature was acquired, not inherited; circumstantial, not required.[148]

(2) Campbell believed that the doctrine of election applied to a class of people, not to particular individuals. Those individuals who voluntarily chose to become a part of a class of people (Christians) were the elect through Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob "for the general and benevolent purpose of saving mankind by an institution of which they [Abraham, etc.] were made the root or foundation."[149] He explained that "the institution called 'the election' . . . is not (like the election of Edwards, Calvin, and others) to exclude, curse and destroy; but to gather, bless and to save."[150] Campbell likewise denied

---

[147] MH 1858, 144-45, 241-44.

[148] CB VI, 27-30.

[149] Ibid., 242; CS, 34-35.

[150] CB VI, 242; MH 1846, 173, 326; 1855, 664, 668-78; CS, 31.

Universalism's doctrine that all men must be unconditionally saved.[151] Potentially all could be saved, if they so chose, but actually all were not to be saved since they did not so choose. Even "the disciples themselves were never spoken to on this matter as persons who had believed, because they were elect, but rather as those who were elected because they had believed . . . ."[152] Campbell claimed that the doctrine of particular election caused the "entire gospel to stink in the estimation of all unprejudiced men,"[153] and because of its "fatalistic" tone, it was one of the real pitfalls on the path to progress.

> After preaching the ancient gospel for a long time, I am finally convinced nothing, not even the grossest immorality, is so much opposed to its progress, as the scholastic election, which, indeed, is just the old fatalism of the Greeks and Romans.[154]

(3) Because Campbell did not accept the doctrine of particular election, he rejected Calvinism's doctrine of limited atonement. Christ had died for all men, according to Campbell, and those who elected to do the will of the Father were the atoned. All men were potentially saved through Christ's universal atonement; those who voluntarily turned their minds to God were elected or actually saved. When Robert Owen, another kind of determinist,

---

[151] CB III, 102-05.

[152] CB VI, 178.

[153] Ibid.

[154] Ibid., 179.

contended that the will had no power over belief, Campbell responded: "I assert that it [will] has an immense power over it [belief]. My adage is, What men will to believe, they most generally, if not universally believe."[155]

(4) Campbell rejected the doctrine of irresistible grace. There was no need for the impress of irresistible grace upon the will of man to bring him to a state of belief. Man could voluntarily believe in God's redemption upon the rational presentation of supernatural evidence as contained in the Scriptures. And one resisted the Holy Spirit successfully when he refused to do the will of the Father as contained in the Bible. God would not coerce anyone against his own will, even for his own good.[156]

(5) Since Campbell believed in voluntary conversion, the convert remained under the practical effect of grace only in so far as he willed. The real test of God's sovereignty in one's life was the presence of that sense of loyalty and fidelity that developed when one freely reciprocated God's love.[157]

8. Summary. Through all the philosophical-theological stream of Campbell ran the empirical ripple, the basic assumption that man could, within an admittedly God-made world and by a God-given revelation, make contrac-

---

[155] CB V, 29.

[156] CB III, 226-29; MH 1857, 182.

[157] CB VI, 242.

tual decisions affecting his relationship to God and man.[158] Nothing could be done without God and His revelation, but the presence of God and His revelation did not guarantee man's participation. Man did not invent the game, but at least God played by the same rules as man. Man must move by his own will!

It might have been argued, however, that if impaired senses or faculties were used, impaired understanding might result with consequentially impaired moral understanding, action, etc. Moral education was aimed precisely at bringing developed, improved faculties to bear upon the perfect morality of God. Campbell did not believe that God moved upon man to change his sullied senses, but rather that man changed his own sullied senses through exposure to renovating ideas given by God in the Bible.[159] Thus a revivalistic-missionary zeal is found in Campbell's educational views; one who knew the revealed will had an obligation to teach another. The better developed the mind of man, the more readily he came to understand, to believe, and to be converted. Since the Holy Spirit did not personally instruct anyone, it fell the lot of the converted to reach the unconverted with the messianic message of God, given by the Holy Spirit, and found exclusively in the Bible. A moral education permitted and sustained such an objective.

---

[158] Garrison, 138-39.

[159] *Ibid.*, 261-64.

Chapter V

THE THEORY OF CAMPBELL'S MORAL EDUCATION

1. The Time Was Right. Campbell was far from alone in his advocacy of moral education based upon the Bible. Since ethics had dominated nineteenth-century European and American philosophy, moral education in America grew in a favorable atmosphere. Horace Mann, chief architect and developer of American education in the early 1800's, wanted the priority of moral training founded on the Bible. On the other hand, he sympathized with those who desired to rid the public schools of denominational or sectarian influences. Many religious people, however, viewed nonsectarian schools as "godless."[1] Mann disagreed and pressed to keep "moral public schools" free of the "unspeakable calamity" of a Calvinistic education that deprived the child "of that filial love for God, that tenderness, that sweetness . . . [which] is natural that the child should feel towards a Father who combines all excellence."[2] After an eminently successful career in education and politics in Massachusetts, Mann moved west in 1854 to become president of Antioch College in Ohio. At his inauguration, the presentation of a Bible by the Bethany Church, Warren County, Ohio, prompted him to express his lifelong

---

[1] Hubbell, 114.

[2] Mann, 478-80.

belief in moral education. Noting first of all that the Bible was "a book which contains the truths that are able to make men wise unto salvation," he went on to say:

> Now, sir, no one knows better than yourself, that a single institution cannot compass all purposes. As our college is not to be a theological or divinity school, we do not propose to inculcate creeds, articles, or confessions of faith; but we do intend, and, with the blessing of God, we do hope, to train our pupils to a practical Christian life, and to make divine thoughts and contemplations become to them, as it were, their daily bread. We mean to administer this college as a literary and Christian institution, where the mind is to be replenished with knowledge; where the affections are to be trained to duty; where all the faculties of the soul are to be devoted and urged on to the acquisition of truth--knowing that Truth and God are one--and where hands shall be made strong and hearts brave, not only in contending for the right, but in contending against the wrong.[3]

Campbell noted the striking similarity between his views and those of Mann on the subject of education:

> The merited celebrity of the author of this address, the very excellent views and sentiments which it contains, and the fine style in which they are expressed, would have constrained me to have laid much of it before my readers, as exhibiting very forcibly many of the positions and views which we have, from time to time, expressed to the readers of the Harbinger on the subject of education, the supremacy of the moral sentiments, and the importance of making the Holy Scriptures a text-book, and their contents a study in every College . . . .[4]

Another noted American promoter of moral education in the first half of the nineteenth century was William Ellery Channing, whom Campbell quoted extensively in the 1830 Millennial Harbinger.[5] Channing had campaigned for a "revolution" to free education from the "jargon of monks" and the "strifes of theologians" who had degraded religion to a "method of escaping future ruin."[6] In the 1840 Millennial Harbinger, Campbell described Channing (W.C.)[7] as "heterodox" in some of his theological opinions but "one of the most accomplished scholars of the age. . . . All must award to him an unrivalled eminence amongst American theologians." His "profound and demonstrably correct" ideas on intellectual and moral education were presented in a "finished and elegant" style.[8] Channing's views were twice quoted by Campbell in the 1840 Millennial Harbinger: "We shall learn in time that moral and religious culture is the foundation and strength of all true cultivation, . . . that the poor who receive a care which awakens their consciences and moral sentiments, start under happier auspices than the prosperous, who place supreme dependence on the education of the intellect and taste." Campbell agreed with Channing that "moral and religious truth . . .

---

[3] MH 1854, 431-34.

[4] *Ibid*., 434.

---

[5] MH 1830, 406-09.

[6] Ibid., 407.

[7] It is assumed that "W.C." is a misprint since only William Ellery Channing fits the description given by Campbell: An "accomplished scholar," with "unrivalled eminence amongst American theologians," whose ideas on intellectual and moral education were "profound and demonstrably correct." See MH 1850, 143, 189, 301, 601 for Campbell's comments on Channing's views on conventions.

[8] MH 1840, 431.

[were] the treasure of the intellect . . . ."[9] Although not alone in his plea for moral education, nor in his belief that it could be Bible-based, Campbell, nevertheless, believed his approach had yet to be tried (see V,2,b).

2. *The Desirability of Moral Education*.

a. The Need for Moral Education: Uniting the Moral and Intellectual. "With me *education* and *the formation of moral character* are identical expressions." The "physical and intellectual," according to Campbell, should be "always held in subordination to the moral man." The "cultivation of the heart" comprised "the Alpha and the Omega" of education, the "radical, regulating, and all-controlling aim and object in all the literary and scientific studies, in all the exercises, recreations and amusements of children and youth." Regardless of accomplishments in the physical and intellectual realms, no man was a great man if he was immoral.[10] "No moral coward ever was, or ever will be a great man," he wrote. "A great general, a great hero, a great orator, a great statesman, he may be, but a great man he cannot be"[11] (see VI,2).

Campbell stressed that education--*moral* education--made for a lawful society; consequently, "schools and seminaries of learning, well conducted and sustained, are essential in every community, to the expulsion of ignorance, and the promotion of intelligence and virtue."[12] It was axiomatic for Campbell that "to prevent crime is much wiser than to punish it." Education prevented ignorance, which was "the parent of idleness, . . . the fruitful source of immorality and crime of every gradation."[13] Strongly believing in government by law, Campbell nevertheless placed little confidence in the capacity of law to reform immoral persons. Nor were crimes and immoralities prevented by an immense code of laws.[14] The laws of England were so numerous "that had not many of them become obsolete," according to Campbell, "a person could scarcely take a morning walk . . . without subjecting himself to some penalty." In a Pauline mood, Campbell surmised that too much "law causes the offence to abound."[15]

---

[9] *Ibid.*, 457.

[10] *Ibid.*, 157-58.

[11] *MH* 1854, 422.

Education caused the person to understand and respect the law. Impressed in 1836 with the humanely educative attempts to reform convicts in the Auburn Penitentiary (New York), Campbell lamented that for the most part these "unfortunate and vicious of society" were "neglected in their early education, and thrown into society with little literary and less moral instruction."[16] In short, more "schools, not jails--school-masters, and not legislators" would make men into useful citizens.[17] To spend "hundreds of thousands in educating the children of all the states" was a more economical solution for crime and immorality than to pour "millions in[to] building jails . . . [and] penitentiaries . . . ."[18] The "great insurance company" of education "insures all other insurance companies."[19] "What force has law unless there is intelligence to perceive its justice, and virtue to which that law can appeal?" queried Campbell, since "the safety of life and the security of property lie in the virtue and intelligence of the people."[20] He adhered so strongly to the principle that the effectiveness of law depended upon the educated intelligence and virtue of a people that he advocated literacy as a prerequisite to the franchise. Campbell complained that in one Virginia county, 2100 franchised adults who could neither read nor write would exercise more voting power than "two thousand and ninety-nine Solomons," if they could have been found. A preposterous situation in which "ignorance [would] neutralize intelligence" frightened Campbell that "uneducated people should decide the election of a state or the fate of a nation." He implored, "if we must have universal suffrage, let us have universal education."[21]

---

[12] MH 1830, 555.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 554.

[15] Ibid.

---

[16] MH 1836, 481 ff.

[17] MH 1830, 554.

[18] MH 1835, 66.

[19] MH 1846, 409; see I,1,n.22.

[20] MH 1846, 409.

Campbell actively and consistently supported and campaigned for "UNIVERSAL EDUCATION--education patronized, sustained, guarded and controlled by the State,"[22] and maintained "at public expense."[23] But he was not interested in universalizing everything that commonly passed for "traditional education," because he thought that the Western world had glorified intellectual prowess while "moral culture [had been] almost wholly neglected."[24] Since great intellects had often been "morally bankrupt," Campbell believed that most traditional educators were falsely assuming that educating the mental man automatically educated the moral man, but neither could man's moral culture be acquired by neglecting the intellect. Moral culture accompanied intellectual culture "by always preceding and always following it."[25] The two could not be divorced; intellectual culture alone "is no more to be compared with moral virtue than is the transient splendor of the meteor to the life-giving radiance of the orb of day."[26]

---

[21] MH 1841, 456.

[22] MH 1835, 66.

[23] MH 1838, 422.

[24] PLA, 466.

[25] MH 1836, 598.

In 1839 Campbell thought "the spirit of the age . . . friendly to the cause of schools and education" and regarded himself as a friend to this "noble means,"[27] but criticized traditional education for "sailing against the wind and tide of human nature."[28] Though agreeing with the stated purpose of the common school "to unfold the various faculties of a human being . . . for self-improvement through life," he objected that their mechanical nature thwarted the objective.[29] Any "system of education which sets about improving operations, mistaking them for operating powers, must fail, wholly fail of any practical utility."[30] A sensible philosophy of education had to be conconant "with the genius of human nature,"[31] but "juvenile penitentiaries,"[32] his candid estimation of most grammar schools, stored "the warehouse of the memory, to the great neglect and detriment of the reflective and higher powers of the mind."[33] He viewed it "unnatural"--meaning backwards--to train "infants" in metaphysics and "young men" in physics, and contended that "half the time" of collegiate study was consumed in undoing the damage inflicted when the cart (metaphysics) was put ahead of the horse (physics).[34]

---

[26] PLA, 469.

[27] MH 1839, 233.

[28] MH 1830, 242.

[29] MH 1840, 431; 1837, 256.

[30] MH 1836, 583.

[31] MH 1843, 498.

[32] MH 1835, 226.

[33] MH 1837, 259.

The failure of traditional education properly to emphasize moral culture and its flagrant violation of the genius of human nature were outrun by an even greater weakness: the educated child often had a distorted concept of God.

> The views of the divine character communicated to the infant mind generally alienate from the life of God. This alienation is generally ascribed to the total depravity and inbred enmity of the human heart.[35]

Infants were taught that they "naturally, perfectly, and cordially hate God." Campbell considered it impossible for a child to hate "a person of whom he is perfectly ignorant," because "whether a child shall love or hate God is educational, and not natural." The pliableness of the mind made it "capable of being shaped after almost any model and cast into any mould . . . ."[36] A misshapen, narrow soul left no "room to receive the riches which the Divine revelations offer in such profusion. . . . The mind can apprehend . . . only as it is purified, developed and improved, and it is then, alone, that it can form just conceptions of the

---

[34] MH 1830, 252.

[35] Ibid., 253-55.

[36] Ibid.

Creator."[37] Epistemologically, a wrongly held concept of God resulted either from the presentation of an erroneous idea of God or from the distortion of a correct idea of God brought to a mind inadequately and insufficiently trained to receive it. Poor sensory data, poorly trained mental machinery, or both, would produce undesirable images or ideas in the mind (see IV,4). The proper development of the student's mind facilitated the clear reception of divine ideas contained in the revelation.[38] Provided these ideas were creedless and biblical, "the formation of moral character" resulted.

b. The Bible and Morality in the Public Schools. Moral education without the Bible struck Campbell as absurd. Any school

> without the Bible . . . is not in accordance with the wants of society, with the genius of human nature, with the interest of the State, with the progress of civilization, with the advancement of the church, with the glory of God, or with the happiness of man.[39]

In spite of Campbell's approval of separation of church and state (see II,3,e and g), he championed the use of the Bible in the tax-supported public schools. Because the United States was a Protestant country, a "common christianity" could be legitimately taught as a part of the national heritage.[40] In 1835 he urged the State governors to uphold Bible reading in the schools in order to thwart "papal tyranny" and to "enlighten all, Catholic and Protestant."[41] The "common christianity" shared by all "intelligent protestants" that should be "taught in every Seminary in the length and breadth of the land" comprised several "great cardinal points" which Campbell delineated as

---

[37] MH 1850, 15.

[38] Ibid., 14.

[39] Ibid., 173-74.

> the evidence of the Christian religion--the arguments that prove the divine person and mission of the common Saviour--the reasons why he is to be accredited and received as the only Saviour of the world--the necessity of faith in him--of repentance towards God--of a new heart and life--of supreme devotion to his will--the value of his death as a sin offering--the necessity of his resurrection, and the certainty of his coming to judge and retribute the living and the dead according to their works.[42]

Since he thought virtue was the chief goal of public education and since the basis of virtue was the Bible, Campbell believed that study of the Bible in the public school was imperative. The Bible on library shelves fell short of Campbell's conviction that it should be "daily, solemnly read, and the attention of the pupils . . . concentrated upon it, with corresponding literary and exegetical developments." The Bible in the classroom meant that everything that surrounded man could be "noticed, developed, taught in reference to God and Christ and immortality."[43]

---

[40] MH 1836, 596-97; 1841, 445; 1843, 212.

[41] MH 1835, 66.

[42] MH 1837, 258.

[43] MH 1839, 279; PLA, 242.

Efforts to keep the "Prince of Books" out of the public schools because of its presumed sectarianism did not escape Campbell's attention.[44] He contended that the Bible was not sectarian because no sect had made it. Its universal truths could be safely taught inductively quite apart from sectarian creeds by analyzing and synthesizing biblical facts after the manner of "physical nature."[45]

Although the Bible should and could be read "without denominational or sectarian comment,"[46] it was perilous, if not ridiculous, so to "prevent rival tendencies . . . [that] the grand impulses to morality are taken away from schools and teachers."[47] If taught in a nonsectarian manner, the Bible was no worse than the "Pantheon and Pagan Mythology." Greek and Roman classics did not make people pagan; the Bible did not make people sectarian, only Christian.[48] Furthermore, children of "immoral parents" without "ministers of religion" were robbed of moral training altogether unless they received biblical indoctrination in the public schools.[49] "That morality can be taught as well without religious instruction as with it" or that it could be taught as well without the Bible was to Campbell like arguing that a chemist could teach as well "without a laboratory" as with one.[50] Religion was, after all, a matter of public concern, albeit for private decision. But decisions could not be made intelligently without alternatives. As a literary work, the Bible was worthy of academic study; as a moral work, it alone taught man his useful duty.[51]

---

[44] MH 1857, 525.

[45] MH 1850, 123, 172.

[46] MH 1837, 568.

[47] MH 1836, 596.

[48] MH 1843, 212.

[49] MH 1836, 596 ff.

"Uniting the moral with the intellectual culture" (see V,2,a) distinguished Campbell from frontier Baptists who distrusted "intellectual culture" and advocated studying the "Bible only" for a moral education. T. Scott Miyakawa pointed out that Campbell had no fear of "human learning" *per se* as did the Bible-only groups.[52] Indispensable as was the Bible to Campbell's theory of moral education, he readily admitted that it offered no "theories of astronomy, geology, chemistry or mental philosophy."[53] Regrettably, the denunciation by ecclesiastical powers of "leading scientific innovations" in the past had created an intellectual chasm "unfriendly to religion and . . . the Bible." Ignorant "ancient opinions," not the Bible, had bred this travesty. No discord or contradiction existed between the testimony of nature and the Bible, and Christianity needed to fear nothing "from the development of the sciences [human theories] of matter or of the mind." After all, the Bible revealed divine truths, not human theories. "Hence, without theorizing, the Bible says, 'Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.'" The most improved science of mental philosophy said the same.[54] Human learning and the Bible might not always have been congruent, but they were always compatible, Campbell thought. Since God could be known only by what he had said and done, human "knowledge of God" could not be had without "human knowledge,"[55] but Campbell entertained no fear that using the Bible in public schools would thwart the efforts of human investigation and learning--quite the contrary. No legitimate art or science made its best contribution outside a biblical atmosphere for "the most splendid intellect render[s] not [its] possessor respectable or amiable unless he be adorned with the graces and excellencies of a virtuous character."[56] The Bible taught and inculcated as an essential part of a good, liberal, and polite education was in perfect harmony with human nature, making man happily in tune with himself, with

---

[50] *MH* 1850, 125; 1858, 123.

[51] *MH* 1845, 22-30.

[52] Miyakawa, 103-04.

[53] *PLA*, 477.

---

[54] Ibid.; The Bible, Proverbs 22:6.

[55] MH 1854, 285.

[56] PLA, 481.

/

his fellow man, and with God.[57]

3. The Goals of Moral Education.

a. The Ultimate Goal of Moral Education: Happiness. "Happiness, individual and societal, must be the standing order of the day." Believing that, Campbell demanded a "thorough reformation in education . . . ."[58] Man "ought to be so educated that his happiness would be perfect to the full extent of his powers and susceptibilities . . . ."[59] This kind of education would balance his animal, intellectual, and spiritual (moral) natures, none "entrenching upon the other." Yet, "if any sacrifice must be made . . . the inferior must always yield to the superior--the brute to the man, and the man to the Christian."[60] Campbell asked the Bethany graduating class of 1857 what they best conceived "human happiness" to be: "Is it not the full enjoyment of ourself?"[61] For Campbell "full enjoyment" meant "the proper employment of our whole personality, and this with special reference to our legitimate relations to the entire universe, so far as we come into actual contact with it, or any portion of it."[62]

---

[57] MH 1854, 422, 426; PLA, 240, 258.

[58] MH 1839, 278-80.

[59] Ibid., 234.

[60] Ibid.

[61] MH 1857, 422.

[62] Ibid.

Campbell's eudemonism emphasized that necessary "restraints which virtue imposes upon the minor gratifications are laid only for the purpose of securing the major both in variety and degree."[63] In words filled with Lockean utilitarianism, Campbell noted that

> whatever produces the greatest amount of moral felicity also yields the greatest variety of enjoyment. This is founded upon the fact that moral pleasure is not only most exquisite in degree, but is itself founded upon the harmonious fruition of our entire constitution. Hence the virtuous man is always the most happy man, because virtue is essential to the entire enjoyment of his whole animal, intellectual and moral nature.[64]

Ideally, balance and discipline tended toward felicity, but Campbell realistically acknowledged that there were "bright and cloudy days in every year"; disagreeableness was not altogether escapable. But there remained "the great question . . . with every thinker, in anticipation of the future of his being, . . . _how shall I enjoy the greatest amount of pleasure with the least conceivable amount of pain_"?[65]

While seeking "the greatest amount of pleasure," one avoided "unreasonable selfishness" through "reasonable selfishness." This self-love conformed to God's law of love which Campbell interpreted to mean that no one could love another better than himself. Somebody, identified only as a "grave and discreet moralist," had taught Campbell early in life not to desire excellence for the sake of excelling others, for "if it becomes a pleasure to you to excel others, it will by degrees be a pleasure to you not to see others as good as yourself." Acknowledging the wisdom of that moralist, Campbell advocated "excellence for the sake of excellence" as the proper measure for "reasonable selfishness." To step over the prone bodies of fellow men on one's way to personal advantage bore no resemblance to Campbell's "reasonable selfishness."[66] Genuine self-respect and self-esteem trickled into the community through benevolent social behavior, which was always of "greater importance" than making a "Solomon for knowledge" or for riches.[67] "To be an honor to an office, rather than to seek honor from it" was Campbell's desideratum.[68]

---

[63] Garrison, 103 ff.; _PLA_, 91.

[64] _PLA_, 91.

[65] _MH_ 1857, 421.

Campbell's eudemonism, growing logically out of his sense realism (see IV,4), embraced the hypothetical imperative: one was not moral just to be moral; instead, one was moral because it led to happiness, a doctrine that lent itself readily to the prudentialism (the good equals the advantageous) of the frontier. Garrison pointed out, however, that Campbell wove Christ's command--"if ye love me, ye will keep my commandments"--into his morality, which

---

[66] MH 1854, 421-25.

[67] MH 1839, 234; PLA, 465.

[68] MH 1851, 443.

"had a vitalizing effect on the system," producing "an enthusiasm for the person of Christ" that bordered on a categorical imperative.[69] In the broad sense, however, Campbell saw happiness as progressive because man knew "nothing in the absolute, everything in the relative."[70] While holding to the ideal of absolute happiness, Campbell realistically conceded that human imperfection made happiness only relatively possible.[71]

His concept of happiness had humanistic overtones. In 1850 he urged the graduating class of Bethany College "to do good," adding,

> I am a man, and nothing which relates to man can be alien to my heart. This should be the motto of every graduate, who is morally, as well as literally, qualified for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.[72]

Campbell's humanism was not occasioned by man reflecting upon his own predicament, for

> the happiness not merely of the individual himself, but of the whole human race, by the insuperable arrangements of the Creator, are made consequent upon the obedience of a cultivated and enlightened moral nature to a moral code.[73]

By adhering to God's moral code, happiness ensued. Good individual behavior produced good community behavior which made people happy, and in truth made God happy. Campbell sensed that

---

[69] Garrison, 298-300.

[70] MH 1853, 285.

[71] Ibid., 423-25.

[72] PLA, 91; MH 1850, 422.

[73] PLA, 464.

> the glory of God can best be promoted by promoting the happiness of man. Indeed, it can be promoted in no other way. . . . Happiness is to be regarded the highest which comprehends the greatest variety and the largest amount of blessedness.[74]

Man's glory--"his true glory"--"commences first in thinking right, next in feeling right, and then in doing right," not for himself alone, but for all.[75] There was a kind of social immortality in "doing right."

> Every enlightened and well educated man not only feels, but cherishes the feeling, that his benevolent enterprises will, in their long and multiform bearings on the condition of humanity, greatly extend beyond the period of his earthly pilgrimage, and may become a revenue of happiness and honor transcending all his anticipations.[76]

A maxim of sound prudence "as truthful as any of the proverbs of Benjamin Franklin" was: "Expect then great things, attempt great things, and great things will follow."[77]

b. The Supporting Goal of Moral Education: Utility. To have a proper relationship to one's self, his fellow man, and God required a useful education. "That calling is always the most honorable which is the most useful; and that is the most useful which is the most necessary to the completion and perfection of human happiness."[78] For that reason, Campbell dismissed the quest for "essence" and "quintessence" with all their "retinue of imagination, accidents, and ends" as unproductive of utility and happiness. After all, argued Campbell, "man knows . . . nothing in the abstract, every thing in the concrete."[79]

---

[74] Ibid., 91.

[75] MH 1851, 439.

[76] MH 1857, 425.

[77] Ibid.

An education of utility would permit man to "clothe and feed himself" and would "furnish him with a house, a table, a chair, and a bed . . . ." In addition, it would "minister to his daily comforts by supplying him with all the implements and instruments essential to the maintaining of the social state and the fruition of social life."[80] Campbell sensed the negative relationship between abject poverty and spiritual vitality, noting that a cold, hungry man did not think well, and by not thinking well, might place his soul in jeopardy.[81]

Everyone's education should have utility. "A learned carpenter and cordwainer there might be, as well as a learned blacksmith . . . ."[82] Although "law, physic and theology" might be "learned professions," the followers of these professions were not always "learned men."[83] A "learned man" served society in its moral advancement, and that could take place in the blacksmith shop or among those who "sweep the largest circles in human affairs."[84] Generals, heroes, and conquerors, although unfortunately necessary to preserve safety, hopefully would "fall back into the rank and file of Nimrod, Tamerlane, Alaric and Company" as civilization advanced.[85] Although the callings of men were divided by Campbell into "the honorable, the more honorable, and the most honorable," he did not pinpoint professions on an ascending or descending scale, for the discriminating factor in the "scale of honor" was the degree of utility.[86]

---

[78] PLA, 91.

[79] MH 1853, 285.

[80] MH 1846, 408.

[81] MH 1840, 430-31.

[82] PLA, 92.

Inventive skills which had made man's lot on earth more comfortable were admired by Campbell. Benjamin Franklin's philanthropy drew Campbell's remark that the Revolutionary War might have been averted if there had been more Franklins and fewer Washingtons.[87] But great or small, "every human being has a mission and work to do . . . not only involving his own destiny but that of others." Occasionally "the fortunes of thousands and myriads for number-less generations" are affected by one's work in life.[88] The "mission and work" were chosen by the person himself, who valued his "talents," his "education," and his "circumstances." "The energies that God has given" helped the person pursue his chosen mission in life.[89] If wisely chosen, this "noble calling" ultimately secured "the admiration of all the great, the wise, the good." Short of public recognition, it was sufficient that the person "enjoy the approbation of his own judgment and conscience . . . ."[90]

---

[83] Ibid., 91-92.

[84] Ibid., 93.

[85] Ibid., 92.

[86] Ibid., 91.

[87] MH 1841, 437.

Above all else, a useful education permitted man to have the "approbation of his God and Redeemer" because he saw the hand of God in all things through his "moral, practical, religious" testimony.[91] Campbell reminded the Bethany College graduating class of 1855 that unless they understood the science of "self-employment" they would be "unsatisfied and unhappy." Its utility was explained as

> wholly for the art of living rationally, virtuously, and, of course, happily. . . . The knowledge of one's own self, implies a knowledge of one's own origin, nature and position . . . and the ever pending obligations, duties, pleasures and enjoyments, originating in, depending upon, and emanating from these causes, severally and collectively. For this

---

[88] MH 1858, 423.

[89] MH 1854, 428.

[90] PLA, 94.

[91] MH 1843, 498.

> science you may search long and laboriously, but you will never find it outside of your Bible, or of the circle of those who read it, understand it, believe it, and obey it.[92]

The key phrase--the "art of living"--basically summarized what Campbell regarded as the goal of moral education; the totality of man was educated, not just his occupational image. The educational theater neither began nor ended in the classroom; the real stage was life itself. For Campbell, "the end of one act or series of acts, in the great drama of human life, is but the beginning of another." Again, "our education is never completed. The end of one chapter is always succeeded by the beginning of another."[93] But there always remained that moral core that was "indestructible, unalienable and productive."[94]

4. The Acquisition of Biblical Moral Principles.

a. Biblical Morality and Inductive Science. That no inductive or speculative science had anything more than the "mere light of nature" to guide the search for moral certainty was Campbell's thesis in his lecture entitled "Is Moral Philosophy an Inductive Science?" "The mere light of nature," impoverished as it was, had never and could never lead man to a certain knowledge of his origin, nature, relations, obligations and destiny," the bases of genuine felicity and happiness.[95] A certain and unerring moral philosophy needed a factual base, corroborated by observation and experiment; human moral speculation was "assumption, plagiarism, [and] imagination," leading, as did all Greek and Roman philosophy, to skepticism. If skepticism were the ripened fruit of the golden age of philosophy, it would be pointless to look elsewhere among man's guesswork for human happiness.[96]

---

[92] MH 1855, 423.

[93] MH 1850, 421.

[94] MH 1844, 97-102.

In spite of the "very great advances" the ancients had made in mathematics, history, language, politics, and the fine arts, Campbell claimed they had nevertheless "degenerated into superstition, mythology, licentiousness and barbarity," proving that human intellect alone was insufficient for moral direction.[97] Often the proponents of human moral systems flooded society "with profanity, impiety, debauchery . . . fraud and injustice."[98] Even modern science, "confessedly conjectural, doubtful, and unworthy of any sort of confidence," could only lure man to a "wide and tempestuous ocean of absolute uncertainty . . . ." All systems--ancient and modern, philosophic and scientific--were "rich in promise, but bankrupt in accomplishment."[99] Morality had devolved within human experience.

---

[95] PLA, 99.

[96] Ibid., 99, 104-05.

[97] Ibid., 108, 116.

[98] Ibid., 473, 105.

Adamic man, perfect in creation and circumstances, disobeyed God and was separated from Him. Prior to separation Adam had learned from God the moral principles that would preserve his happiness in the Garden, but separation weakened his moral powers especially.[100] As time passed, man's moral vulnerability caused him gradually to dilute and disregard the originally delivered moral principles. Whereas the intellectual world advanced successfully on nature with a doctrine of probability, the moral world retreated ingloriously under man's speculative trusteeship. Even among idolatrous people, residual commemorative institutions identified them and their ancestry with a commonly held moral origin of all men. The "notions of spirituality, eternity and unity of God, the primitive state of man, his fall, sacrifice, priests, altars, immortality of the soul, a future state, eternal judgment and the ultimate retribution of all men according to their works" were cited by Campbell as illustrating this common moral origin.[101] Those naturalists who argued that savages invented the idea of God as well as "all the religions of the world" overlooked the fact, as Campbell's epistemology would have it, that any idea in human experience had to come through an archetype or by speech descriptive of the object involved.[102] If savages had invented the idea of God and religions, one would expect to find the clearest ideas of God among the aboriginals, which was not the case. The naturalists' inference that the more civilized man became, the less religious he needed to be, ran counter to Campbell's view of fact and truth.[103]

---

[99] Campbell and Owen, 59.

[100] PLA, 96-97, 112-13.

[101] Ibid., 108, 272 ff.; Campbell and Owen, 36 ff.

Although all men had had a common moral origin, it was among the Jews, who enjoyed God's prophetic guidance and covenantal relationship throughout their history, that morality remained purest.[104] Some "lawgivers, philosophers, and sages of Greece travelled into Egypt and the East in quest of knowledge" in their attempt to find moral certainty.[105] But generally the successive ages of mankind led further and further from the clear pathway of faith to the eroding pathway of fable. Tragically, faith yielded to hypothesis.[106] In the first two thousand years there was no place for speculation or hypothesis, and while Adam lived men would have been "laughed out of society" and "excommunicated from the habitations of the sane and rational of mankind" for speculating on their origin.[107]

---

[102] PLA, 92, 160-66.

[103] Ibid., 92.

[104] Campbell and Owen, 225-26.

[105] PLA, 108.

[106] Ibid., 113-16.

> Hence, sensible and learned men of former times and of the present day assign to tradition or revelation, handed down orally, and neither to "natural religion" nor moral philosophy, all knowledge upon these subjects [the five points surrounding man's origin and destiny]. Great and learned names may be found in abundance, to sanction the conclusion to which we are forced to come, from the facts now standing in our horizon. These will say, with the distinguished Puffendorf, in his Law of Nations, "It is very probable that God himself taught the first men the chief heads of natural laws, which were preserved and spread abroad by means of education and custom."[108]

The Christian system, God's most recent attempt to bring man back under divine tutelage, suffered the same fate as all prior divine moral law: it had fallen under the theological judgment of speculation. By returning to New Testament principles, man might be brought under moral direction (see III,3,b).[109]

b. Campbell's Theory of Language. The first man was created an adult, or else he would not have survived "for lack of nurture."[110] God gave Adam the gift of speech "not by inspiration, but by example";[111] he acquired language by imitation.[112] God, of necessity, gave Adam a religious (moral) vocabulary by which he received "knowledge of his origin, nature, relations, obligations and destiny."[113]

---

[107] *Ibid*., 122, 114.

[108] *Ibid*., 108-09.

[109] *Ibid*., 20-21.

[110] Campbell and Owen, 112-15.

[111] *PLA*, 21.

[112] Campbell and Owen, 162.

In the beginning language was almost wholly narrative because man wrote down what he saw and heard, which came to him either through direct experience or by revelation.[114] Only later did language become theoretical. Since man's ideas originally depended upon sensations received from external sources, moral ideas would have had to come from an external moral source, God Himself, and would have had to be accepted by faith--or as Campbell put it, by credulity.[115] Labeled the "greatest moral power of man," credulity permitted man to receive "instruction upon the testimony of teachers," without which he was incapable of improvement.[116] Even the ancient philosophers' syllogistic reasonings assumed that "their conclusions were wiser than their premises," but so to conclude involved possessing "previous information upon the subject which they did not derive from reason."[117] Without facts to be accepted, their reasonings were worthless.

As a consequence Campbell thought that any system of morality must start with facts, not reasonings. The moral facts were in the Bible, and when uncovered, understood, and obeyed, would bring felicity and happiness as God had promised. Further, the key that would unlock the Bible and would spill its unadulterated moral treasure upon mankind was proper biblical interpretation. If "all students of the Bible [were] taught to apply the same rules of interpretation to its pages, there would be a greater uniformity in opinion and sentiment, than ever resulted from the simple adoption of any written creed."[118] These rules of interpretation had to be creedless, not those of

---

[113] PLA, 109-10.

[114] Campbell and Owen, 91-92.

[115] *Ibid.*, 151-54.

[116] *Ibid.*

[117] *Ibid.*, 91-92.

> enthusiasts and fanatics of all ages [who] determine the meanings of words, from that knowledge of things which they imagine themselves to possess, rather than from the words of the author,--"They decide by what they suppose he ought to mean, rather than by what he says."[119]

The Bible was to be understood grammatically, not doctrinally. Although Calvinist and Arminian alike urged that "their respective doctrines . . . be tried by the scripture, and by the scripture alone," they argued in circles. They said: "You are to try our doctrine by the Scripture only. But then you are to be very careful that you explain the Scripture solely by our doctrine." Undoubtedly "a wonderful plan of trial," Campbell mocked, which "begins with giving judgment, and ends with examining the proof, wherein the whole skill and ingenuity of the judges are to be exerted in wresting the evidence, so as to give it the appearance of supporting the sentence pronounced beforehand."[120] In this way Campbell disposed of those theologians who first decided their faith, and then proceeded "to examine what the Scriptures say."[121] Although not without an _a priori_ of "how" the Bible ought to be interpreted, he wished to avoid presuppositions that presumed the "what" of its content. The Bible was to be analyzed "by fixed and certain principles or rules of interpretation." Since the Christian institution was divine, "the principles by which the Christian institution may be certainly and satisfactorily ascertained" were of paramount interest. He warned that "unless these sacred _writings_ can be certainly interpreted, the christian religion never can be certainly understood."[122]

---

[118] Christianity Restored, 15.

[119] Ibid., 23.

God, having addressed man in human language, assumed that man could properly interpret and understand. But the introduction of many dialects and the changing forms of languages made the art of interpretation more difficult. A basic art of interpretation still remained, however, or else God in His subsequent speaking to man was neither wise nor benevolent "in giving any verbal communications."[123]

---

[120] _Ibid_., 67; _CB_ II, 151.

[121] _Christianity Restored_, 66.

[122] _Ibid_., 15.

[123] _Ibid_., 17.

c. The Rules of Biblical Interpretation. Campbell's belief that biblical language could be clearly and certainly interpreted and understood differed from Horace Bushnell's judgment that language had evolved imprecisely, lacked clarity, and required illumination to be understood.[124] For Campbell, the Bible promised happiness, if one complied with its commands: a reward followed right action. Therefore, it was important to know clearly its meaning. Campbell claimed that all his hermeneutical rules were commonly accepted by leading biblical authorities, citing "Doctors Campbell of Aberdeen; MacKnight, of Edinburgh; Doddridge, of England; Michaelis, of Gottingen; Horne, of Cambridge; Stuart of Andover" and others from whom he selected and borrowed; he chose not to "appear in the character of an original writer upon the subject."[125]

The first hundred pages of Campbell's four-hundred-page book, Christianity Restored, confined itself almost exclusively to the subject of hermeneutics; twenty-eight of the thirty-three topics dealt with philological issues.[126] From this book, The Christian System, and other writings emerge seven basic summary rules of interpretation; the details only of the second and the seventh reveal

---

[124] H. Shelton Smith, ed., Horace Bushnell. A Library of Protestant Thought (New York: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 69-105.

[125] Christianity Restored, 95-96.

[126] Ibid., 1 (Table of Contents).

Campbell's ideas on morality, yet the rest merit recitation.

(1) "On opening any book in the sacred Scriptures, _consider first the historical circumstances of the book_. _These are the order_, _the title_, _the author_, _the date_, _the place_, _and the occasion of it_." By determining the order or sequence of the books one gained a sense of priority; the title often expressed the book's purpose; the circumstances and style of the author gave insight into his mode of expression. "The date, place, and occasion . . . are obviously necessary to a right application of any thing in the book."[127]

(2) More important,

> In examining the contents of any book as respects precepts, promises, exhortations, etc., _observe who it is that speaks_, _and under what dispensation he officiates_. Is he a Patriarch, a Jew, or a Christian? _Consider also the persons addressed_: _their prejudices_, _characters_, _and religious relations_. Are they Jews or Christians--believers or unbelievers--approved or disapproved? This rule is essential to the proper application of every command, promise, threatening, admonition or exhortation, in Old Testament or New.[128]

The reference to "dispensation" suggested Campbell's strong belief in covenant theology which had permeated Scottish Seceder circles in which he had been reared.[129] Three dispensations signaled the three covenants that God had had with man. The first was the patriarchal, commencing with

---

[127] _Ibid_., 96-97; _CS_, 16.

[128] _Christianity Restored_, 97; _CS_, 16.

[129] Garrison, 150-53; _CB_ II, 129.

Melchizedek; the second was the Jewish, commencing with Aaron; and the third was the Christian, reigned over by Jesus the Messiah. "The sovereignty and wisdom of God is most conspicuous in these arrangements," necessitating "a knowledge of the leading peculiarities of each, [which] is essential to an accurate knowledge of any one of them, and the right interpretation of the Bible."[130] The economy of each was different, necessitating changes in behavior. Law from one dispensation to another did not vary; moral law remained unchanged throughout the dispensations. "Positive precepts" were those immediate dispensational laws which, although reflecting moral, universal law, were peculiarly adapted to the remedial needs of the covenant holders. Moral law was unconditional and unchanging; positive law or precept, being contingent upon the dispensation, was largely devoted to matters of proper worship.[131] (Campbell illustrated as follows: "Moses, nor Aaron, nor the people of the Jews, after they departed from Sinai, dare approach God by sacrifice,--as Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were wont to do" under the patriarchal dispensation.)[132] Man's highest level of moral responsibility--his relationship to God--required proper understanding of the differences between the covenants. Christian participation in activities intended only for the Jews was illegal, and in a broader sense immoral.[133] Jesus established a New Covenant or "will" not in his incarnation but through his death and resurrection and specifically at Pentecost when the New Covenant was first publicly announced. Although acknowledging the importance of the Old Testament in understanding the New Testament, and the importance of the Gospels in understanding the principles of the New Covenant, Campbell devoted most of his writing and speaking to the themes of Acts and the Epistles. He seldom referred to the Sermon on the Mount; rather, Paul's injunctions were his chief warehouse of "approved precedents" for Christian action.[134]

---

[130] Christianity Restored, 94.

[131] Garrison, 250.

[132] Christianity Restored, 94-95.

(3) In order "to understand the meaning of what is commanded, promised, taught, etc., _the same philological principles, deduced from the nature of language . . . are to be applied to the language of the Bible_."[135]

(4) The student should appeal to "_common usage, which can only be ascertained by testimony_, [and] _must always decide the meaning of any word which has but_

---

[133] See Lunger, 32-34. Lunger has pointed out that Campbell, though advocating a Christian community based upon the Bible, concerned himself primarily with a community based upon the New Covenant or New Testament. In fact, Lunger ventured that Campbell's New Testament interest centered in the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistles.

[134] _Ibid_.

[135] _Christianity Restored_, 97.

one signification . . . ." If a word had more than one meaning, whether literal or figurative, "*the scope, the context, or parallel passages, must decide the meaning*." The Bible was its own best commentary.[136]

(5) and (6) Tropes, symbols, types, allegories, and parables should be treated cautiously: "*comparison is never to be extended beyond that point* [the point to be illustrated]--*to all the attributes, qualities, or circumstances of the symbol, type, allegory or parable*."[137] The "laboratory of every man's imagination" was a poor place for careful biblical analysis.[138] Although Campbell has often been accused of being a biblical literalist, he warned against that mode of exegesis: "Enthusiasm has two extremes;--the one, literalizes every thing; the other extreme, spiritualizes every thing."[139] Both systems were "hostile to the Bible" because they made the Bible appear to conform to "arbitrary rules" that fit no other book. As previously noted, Campbell would allow no unique rules for interpreting the Bible.

(7) Appeal to common sense: "For the salutary and sanctifying intelligence of the Oracles of God, the following rule is indispensable: *We must come within*

---

[136] *Ibid*.

[137] *Ibid*.

[138] *Ibid*., 27.

[139] *Ibid*., 29-30.

the understanding distance." Campbell's explanation is quoted at length:

> There is a distance which is properly called _the speaking distance_, or the _hearing distance_; beyond which the voice reaches not, and the ear hears not. To hear another, we must come within that circle which the voice audibly fills.
>
> Now we may with propriety say, that as it respects God, there is an understanding distance. All beyond that distance, cannot understand God; all within it, can easily understand him in all matters of piety and morality. God, himself, is the centre of that circle, and humility is its circumference.
>
> The wisdom of God is as evident in adapting the light of the Sun of Righteousness to our spiritual or moral vision, as in adjusting the light of day to our eyes. The light reaches us without an effort of our own; but we must open our eyes, and if our eyes be sound, we enjoy the natural light of heaven. There is a sound eye in reference to spiritual light, as well as in reference to material light. Now, while the philological principles and rules of interpretation, enable many men to be skillful in biblical criticism, and in the interpretation of words and sentences,--who neither perceive nor admire the _things_ represented by those words: the sound eye contemplates the things themselves, and is ravished with the moral scenes which the Bible unfolds.
>
> The moral _soundness_ of vision consists in having the eyes of the understanding fixed solely on God himself, his approbation, and complacent affection for us. . . . Every one, then, who opens the Book of God, with _one aim_, with one ardent desire,--intent only to know the will of God; to such a person, the knowledge of God is easy; for the Bible is framed to illuminate such, and only such, with the salutary knowledge of things celestial and divine.[140]

One who followed that advice was not illuminated by the

---

[140] _Ibid_., 97-99.

Holy Spirit in order that he might understand a mysterious book; he studied the Bible with rational rules of language in order to know accurately what the Holy Spirit was speaking and thus became illuminated. Although Campbell did not feel that everyone could interpret and understand the Bible equally well, in theory and in practice he maintained that the Bible could be understood by all men; it was appropriate to the schoolroom "as a daily text-book."[141]

d. The Nature and Source of Biblical Morality. Nonbiblical codes of morality--labeled "pagan" by Campbell--lacked "truth, motive and authority"[142] because they could not point to "the origin, the nature, the relations, the obligations and the destiny of man."[143] Biblical morality was good in itself, was addressed to the whole animal, intellectual, and moral nature of man, and most importantly, carried the authority of God.[144] Characterized by wisdom, simplicity, purity, and systemization,[145] biblical morality enabled man to "create" his own moral character.[146] A series of twenty-one essays in the 1838-39 *Millennial Harbingers* dealt almost exclusively with those biblical attributes that man was to build into his character which would permit him to have the right relationship with God, himself, and particularly his fellow man.

---

[141] *MH* 1843, 212; *PLA*, 247-71; *FLP*, 61-63.

[142] *MH* 1838, 6.

[143] *PLA*, 99; *MH* 1839, 233.

[144] *MH* 1838, 6-7.

[145] *Ibid*.

[146] *Ibid*., 193-94.

Defined "more legally and evangelically," moral meant "the moral law," i.e., the Ten Commandments.[147] This external and absolute moral code formed the content of one's duties "to each and every man" and to God.[148] An internal moral conscience trained in accordance with the external principles directed man in his daily experience.

> The moral sense or conscience is that power which, when properly educated, dictates and appreciates the character of actions, as they affect and bear upon the persons, the property and the character of our neighbors and fellow-citizens.[149]

Although Campbell tended to delineate the difference between moral and religious duties, he argued that in the larger sense moral character involved the proper discharge of duties both to man and to God, since the "authority that sanctions the purely moral code must be regarded as alike sanctioning all principles of religion and morality."[150] However, the Jewish dispensation, of which the Ten Commandments were a part, differed from and was definitely inferior to the Christian dispensation.[151] Not in content but in form: the Jewish dispensation was largely one of "precepts," the Christian was one of "principles."[152] The Jews had been regimented by every "conceivable minutia" of regulation, leaving "nothing to principle"; the Christians were "given very general rules, left to be filled up by our own reflection and reason."[153] Thus the Ten Commandments constituted universal truths superior to the positive precepts of the Jewish covenant. Although similar precepts peculiar to the Christian dispensation could be found in the New Testament, the Christian economy was generally less prescriptive. Nevertheless, both conformed to the ethic of love which was above any covenant.[154]

---

[147] PLA, 302.

[148] Ibid., 302-03.

[149] Ibid., 303.

[150] Ibid.

[151] MH 1848, 368-83.

If one were to express the ethic of love, he avoided slandering his fellow man, exercised a good conscience toward all men, did not covet his neighbor's property or person, avoided tainted business dealings and shameful speculation, abstained from objectionable "excitements" and habits (tobacco, liquor, dancing, cards), and generally sought the felicity and well-being of all men.[155] These deeds would make God and man himself, as well as his neighbor, happy. Exemplary behavior was not for bettering but for benefiting one's neighbor (see V,3,a).

---

[152] _CB_ VII, 265.

[153] _Infant Sprinkling Proved To Be a Human Tradition; Being the Substance of a Debate on Christian Baptism, between Mr. John Walker, a Minister of the Secession, and Alexander Campbell, V.D.M., A Regular Baptist Minister, Held at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio, on the 19th and 20th of June, 1820, in the Presence of a Very Numerous and Respectable Congregation, to Which Is Added a Large Appendix_ (Steubenville, Ohio: James Wilson, 1820), p. 47.

[154] _MH_ 1830, 93; 1846, 500; 1839, 275; 1840, 99; _CB_ VI, 90.

5. Summary. Although many forms of inappropriate behavior were not mentioned in the Bible, a rational man would recognize them as violations of certain biblical principles and would prudently avoid them. Never the systematician of ethics, Campbell's pragmatic approach to biblical morality reduced to this: ideally, when a moral problem arose, one searched the Bible, using simple rules of interpretation; one arrived at applicable moral principles; through conscientious rational and reflective thought one determined a specific course of action which made "common sense" under the circumstances. "Justice was a matter of circumstances."[156]

For the foregoing reasons, Campbell's moral education required first an understanding of the rules of biblical interpretation, second a developed conscience, and third a rational ability to turn biblical principles into practical and proper conduct. Avoidance of a systematized ethic conformed to Campbell's axiom that written human creeds, even if biblical in content, divided the religious world (see II,4). If every man had a biblical education, enlightened moral powers, and a trained conscience enabling him to apply biblical principles, he could regulate his moral life with a minimum of ethical or legal technicalities. "Independence of thinking" was the aim.[157] Therefore, Campbell eschewed men's "favorite dogmata" or "formulas of faith" because these would weigh down "the infant mind with the honeyed arguments and paltry tinsellings . . . which neither their authors nor their advocates can demonstrate or make intelligible . . . ." Rather, "let the Lord himself teach . . . in his own words and in his own arguments . . . ."[158]

---

[155] MH 1838: 193, 324, 385, 52; 1840: 210; 1839: 403; 1830: 281; 1838: 155; 1841: 322.

[156] MH. 1840, 101.

---

[157] MH 1842, 285; 1852, 368; 1835, 139.

[158] PLA, 309-10.

PART IV

THE MAN AND HIS MORAL EDUCATION AT WORK

Chapter VI

THE PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES OF CAMPBELL'S MORAL EDUCATION

1. The Background and General Character of His Recommendations. By the 1880's the broad outlines of three educational theories--if they could be called that--generally governed the character of most schools in this nation: the "Three R's" of the common school, the classical studies of the college and university, and the religious instruction and piety of the academies. Campbell had experience with all of these institutions. The 1830's and 1840's found him energetically campaigning on behalf of the common school in Virginia (see I,1), his chief concern being its practical implementation at the state, county, and district levels. His twenty-five year presidency and on-and-off professorship at Bethany College oriented him in the professional and practical affairs of college life. His boyhood acquaintance with his father's academies in Ireland as well as his experiences at the short-lived Buffalo Seminary of 1818-1823 provided ample opportunity for Campbell to view the problems of student education.

Out of this broad background, Campbell made his recommendations for educational practices and principles. In these he considered the needs and development of the student, the appropriate subject matter to be taught, and the nature and function of the teacher in the educational process. Campbell, like most other educators of his time, was not bothered by such sophisticated methodology as graded materials, specialized teaching techniques, curriculum planning, and other latter-day concerns. He scattered his general educational views throughout his writings and lectures, although some of the latter were devoted exclusively to education and tended to summarize his opinions. On the other hand, comprehensive and detailed educational principles and practices are missing from his sixty-odd volumes. Since he did not devote a book, nor any significant part of a book, to his educational philosophy and theory, it is not surprising that he did not comment extensively on principles and practices.

W. T. Moore, a close friend of Campbell, once complained that "Mr. Campbell's fondness for _generalization_ led him sometimes into doubtful positions, in reference to _particulars_."[1] In the area of educational principles and practices, his "fondness for generalization led him" to use "particulars" only for illustrative purposes. In spite of the limited, nonsystematic, and scattered resources, sufficient material does exist to give general definition to his principles and practices anent the following three questions: (1) What is a student? (2) What is he to be taught? and (3) What kind of teacher is to teach him?

---

[1] _FLP_, 94 n.

2. The Student and His Educational Development. "To educate is not . . . simply to instruct," Campbell cautioned.[2] Because "the communication of the knowledge of letters--of the names of things--of the rules of art, or of the outlines of the whole circle of science" was mistakenly thought by some to be the goal of education, he concluded that the real goals and needs of the student, usefulness and happiness, had too often been sold short.[3] Formal instruction could give a person the misleading appearance of having been educated.[4] The singular transfer of information from teacher to student did not "draw out and cultivate the powers of the mind" nor "evolve and develop the latent truth-requiring sensibilities of the soul."[5] Short of this, no person was properly educated.

Campbell's conviction that the proper development of man's physical, mental, and moral capacities "makes a man" accounted in part for his emphasis upon the nature and needs of the student. An understanding of the nature of the human constitution was a prerequisite to giving proper instruction (see V,2,a).[6] Failure to analyze properly the human constitution had encouraged many improper methods of instruction, to which Campbell took exception. He lashed out at those who "store the warehouse of the memory" to the neglect of the "reflective and higher powers of the mind."[7] To coerce a student to learn was another "common" and "pernicious" error, and to learn under such conditions was "seldom of lasting good."[8] Attention had to be voluntary. To employ corporal punishment in any learning situation was the last resort; to reason with the child encouraged mutual respect and rational behavior.[9] The catechetical technique of teaching was a special object of Campbell's criticism: "To give both the question and the answer to the pupil, is to dwarf rather than to enlarge, to weaken rather than strengthen the mind."[10] All these faulty techniques shared one weakness: the student's potential failed to develop because his nature was disregarded.

---

[2] MH 1850, 18.

[3] MH 1837, 256.

[4] MH 1838, 6; PLA, 232-33.

[5] MH 1850, 18; 1854, 422.

[6] PLA, 231-32.

A student's potential or inherent capacity did not guarantee his development. Proper control of environment meant better development of inherencies and socially acceptable behavior. Society ultimately judged by manifestations, not inherencies. To expect good behavior to leap out of undeveloped inherency was foolhardy. Campbell posed this alternative:

---

[7] MH 1837, 259.

[8] MH 1845, 57.

[9] MH 1838, 51.

[10] MH 1850, 172.

> The question then is, whether we ourselves, the parents and the teachers of our youth, ought to plant the seeds of piety and humanity in their understandings and hearts, or whether we ought to let the soil bring forth the thorn, the thistle, the brier, or the other rank weeds of vice and immortality whose seeds may happen to be borne upon every polluted breath which . . . infests . . . the public and private walks of life.[11]

Every man needed improvement. Education accomplished it; in fact, it was the only means to that end.

> True science affirms that all that is in man, and only what is in him is to be educated; that every organ, and sense, and power, whether animal, intellectual, moral, or religious, can be improved and ought to be improved by education.[12]

Even when nature had bestowed a bad disposition upon a person, it could be "overcome by education," Campbell confidently remarked. Developing the inherent good in man was one thing; changing the undesirable in man to that which was good indicated the great faith Campbell placed in the power of education to renovate human nature. Campbell assured his readers that "the worst natural disposition may be completely subdued, and the best greatly improved."[13] In short, if man's nature was not what it ought to be, it stood in need of change; education could do the job. Campbell came very close to denying that man possessed any hard and fast inherent limitations although each person had a differing potential (see VI,2,a). Man was susceptible to constant improvement provided his innate faculties were strengthened in the proper environment.[14]

---

[11] PLA, 475.

[12] MH 1836, 585.

[13] PLA, 478.

a. The Nature and Strengthening of All Faculties. Man's innate nature "ought to be improved by education."[15] The improvement of man depended upon exercising the proper organs of the mind or soul. An organ, a "natural instrument--such as the brain, the eye, the ear, the tongue, the hand," assisted the soul to think and feel.[16] Its respective power was its faculty. Some organs and their faculties were both simple and compound; others were not. The eye was simple and had the singular faculty of seeing, and the brain was compound and had the complex faculty of thinking. Further, certain faculties required a plurality of organs to operate; the faculty of remembering required the faculty of perception and reflection. The tendency to confuse a faculty and its capacity or power with the operation of the organ troubled Campbell. In other words, sight differed from the object seen. "To improve a faculty is to enlarge and confirm its organ or organs" for by doing so one improved the power and therefore the operation of that organ. The "natural order of education," aimed at developing the student's potential, should consider first the operation, then the faculty, next the organ, and last, the mind.

---

[14] MH 1837, 256-57; PLA, 460.

[15] PLA, 460, 464.

[16] Ibid., 460-61.

> Single acts precede habits and strengthen faculties, and these faculties strengthen the organs, and then the organs in turn strengthen the faculties, and the faculties strengthen their particular acts and operations.[17]

The interdependency of the acts, faculties, and organs was explained by Campbell in the typical "muscle" sequence: "Thus, we strengthen the muscles in the arm by acts or operations; these operations strengthen the faculty of the whole arm or increase its muscular power, and that strength increased redounds to the improvement of those very acts by which it was itself improved."[18]

By relating mental and moral faculties, Campbell supported his thesis that intellectual and moral education should be interrelated (see V,2,a).[19] But the moral powers, being inherently weaker and thus in need of more improvement, required the greater attention.[20] Further, since the greatest amount of happiness accrued through man's moral nature, it should receive the most extensive attention. Man's physical pleasure is "but the positive degree, intellectual pleasure the comparative, while moral pleasure is the superlative . . . ."[21] A superlative power required a commensurate superlative educational experience to develop moral potential to its fullest.

---

[17] Ibid., 462.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Ibid., 302.

[20] Ibid., 462-63.

[21] Ibid., 463.

b. Developing the Student's Potential. Campbell believed that each man's potential--physical, intellectual, moral--differed. "Who believes," asked Campbell, "that all men (i.e. all minds) are equal, either by nature, education or art?" The very nature of the harmonious world and man's part in it demanded inequalities. Differences in individual capacities partially remove the social drudgery of life, "lay the basis of our various responsibilities, and constitute much of the happiness of this life."[22] Although people differed individually, they still held a common need for an education geared to chronological and maturational development. Campbell thought that historically God had educated social man in three successive dispensations or states (see II,3,d), and proposed three parallel stages to educate each man for society. The first embraced the years from birth through age seven; the second, the years between seven and fifteen; and the third, the years between fifteen and twenty-one. The "wants of human nature" varied with the "eras of human nature," and the educative process desirably should take the cue.[23] This appeal to the "dispensations" or phases of student development came with the announcement of the opening of a primary school (ages seven to fifteen) at Bethany College, designed to separate the juniors from the seniors.[24] Campbell's grand plan for Bethany called for an elementary school (seven to fourteen years), an academy of arts and sciences (fourteen and upwards), a normal school, and a "college proper." In the primary schools juniors constituted a population of upper-graders who apparently attended some college classes.[25] Because of the school's financial problems, juniors and seniors had previously been combined. The addition of a primary school solved the educational inadequacies and facilitated a "systematic moral culture," Campbell's chief concern.[26]

---

[22] Ibid., 80-81.

[23] MH 1843, 216.

Campbell, like John Locke, observed that human personality--the inner man--transformed itself through a constantly modifying process, for the person may

> live, and move and have its proper being and individuality in ten bodies during seventy years. Still, it is the same person inhabiting ten different houses. . . . This spirit, or inner man, while residing in one house of two stories, is not necessarily one immutable character. It is impressible and transformable by intellectual, moral, and spiritual considerations, arguments, or motives. Hence a new spirit, or tenant, is conceivable and possible in an old house.[27]

---

[24] MH 1841, 271.

[25] MH 1843, 215-21.

[26] Ibid., 216.

[27] MH 1854, 65.

Man's change of personality did not result from a sudden spiritual, metaphysical regeneration--so to contend would controvert Campbell's epistemology (see IV,4). Man's willingness and cooperation gradually improved man's nature.

> Mother Nature says, Exercise gently, gradually, constantly, without oppression, without fatigue, without excess, every organ, faculty, power, and capacity, whether physical, mental, or moral, on agreeable and appropriate objects, in the exact ratio of the years and strength of the infant man . . . .[28]

c. The Basic Learning Formula: Precept, Demonstration, and Training. To learn anything, especially something moral, three steps had to be taken. First, one had to acquire an understanding of the theoretical basis. Yet "all true or real knowledge," Campbell insisted, "is but experience." Theory was not knowledge; "light is not the thing seen by it."[29] Grasping the theory, nevertheless, was an important step toward knowledge. The student should acquire facts--given by the teacher in many cases--to be analyzed inductively and arranged synthetically. The inductive method encouraged inquiry, and inquiry resulted in new knowledge. Because new knowledge was not possible unless one went from the known to the unknown, the advance of the student's deductive reasoning power depended largely upon the knowledge acquired inductively.

Campbell noted that "the only subjects [areas] of enquiry are those which we do not understand; and, for the very reason that we do not know the cause of the phenomena of nature, we should enquire concerning it."[30] True to his empiricism, "it is by observation and inquiry that man learns new truths, and not by intuition. It is by an evolution of results from given causes, or of unknown principles from known consequences, that he laboriously augments the sum of human knowledge."[31] Man should be taught the way he naturally learned; unless he was so taught, his education would be useless and unproductive of felicity. Commenting upon the uselessness of some moral and religious instruction, Campbell lamented that "it is imagined, that to crowd the memory with revealed facts, or to fetter the judgment with religious doctrines, is to educate the soul."[32] As important as Campbell believed revealed facts to be (see III,3,a and b), only by proper analysis and synthesis did they develop the student's independent thinking (see V,3,b). Campbell insisted that "the system [inductive] of Lord Bacon, when carried out fully and completely, and applied to all the branches of science and knowledge, is admirably calculated to give this independence to the mind."[33] And most certainly "answers printed or written, for stereotyped questions, propounded in seminaries of learning--I care not what the subject or the science--never made a thinker, a scholar, a philosopher, or a great man, much less a saint . . . ."[34] At Bethany College each student was required to read the Bible daily. Campbell dealt with the biblical facts and their meaning and then each student "inductively" gathered and arranged the material for himself (see II,2,d; III,2,b).[35]

---

[28] MH 1835, 226.

[29] MH 1853, 423.

---

[30] MH 1831, 148-49.

[31] MH 1850, 16.

[32] Ibid., 17.

[33] MH 1835, 139-40.

Demonstration was the second learning principle. A thoroughly illustrated idea, concept, or theory helped a student to see other possible connections and permanently to instill the idea in his mind. Generally, the greater the number of established relationships, the more closely linked to life the idea became. In particular, community life out of touch with the Bible led some to judge the Bible impotent. Even a student's failure to see utility in spelling was traceable to inadequate mental connections.[36] Campbell charged that the education of both boys and girls had too little reference to life.

> If there be one proposition, sanctioned by reason, and endorsed by common sense, it is this, that BOYS AND GIRLS OUGHT TO BE TAUGHT THOSE BRANCHES AND THOSE SCIENCES THAT THEY WILL BE CALLED UPON TO PRACTICE AND CARRY OUT AS MEN AND WOMEN.[37]

---

[34] PLA, 308.

[35] MH 1850, 291.

[36] PLA, 256.

[37] MH 1846, 110.

Training brought the learning process to a culmination. Important as good examples (demonstrations) were to moral, intellectual, and physical development, they were not sufficient. "Training sons," Campbell warned, "is much more laborious than teaching sons." Exposure to good ideas did not necessarily mean the absorption and incorporation of the ideas into the person. Campbell complained that "moral teachers, lecturers, and authors have so generally and so fatally overlooked this palpable defect in the popular notions and systems of moral culture."[38] Training meant discipline, and discipline meant a certain kind of habituation learned in school that would have utility after graduation. For instance, considerable student "self-government" on the Bethany College campus was designed to prepare for participation in the "American Institutions."[39] Discipline among Bethany College students seemed to be somewhat self-imposed. In reply to some parents who had anticipated a reformation of their troublesome sons, Campbell noted that their discharge from the school accorded with its character; he was not supervising a "penitentiary."[40]

As an illustration of the three principles of student learning--precept, demonstration, and training--

---

[38] MH 1842, 16-17.

[39] Ibid., 285. See p. 22 for an example of intellectual training.

[40] Ibid., 80.

Campbell used musical instruction as the ideal method. The teacher instructed and led the student to understand the theory of the music to be played: notes, lines, spaces, etc. After an intellectual appreciation was acquired, the teacher demonstrated the proper way of playing the composition. Last, and most important, the teacher helped the student to teach himself to play the composition. The student went from the known to the unknown, established the connection of the ideas through the demonstration, and then independently, through proper training, mastered the composition.[41]

3. The Subject Matter. Campbell's interest in the proper development of the whole student--especially the moral nature--removed him from that class of pedagogues centering in intellectual subject matter. His recommendations are in broad terms, but his lecture "On Common Schools," delivered to an educational convention at Clarksburg, Virginia, in 1841, reveals a preference for varied subject matter.[42]

a. The Common School Recommendations. Avoiding specified subject matter and disciplines *per se*, Campbell enumerated "seven arts that human nature must acquire in a judicious course of primary and fundamental education." Arranged in what Campbell believed to be the progressive order in which they were naturally learned, they were: "1st. The art of thinking; 2nd. The art of speaking; 3rd. The art of reading; 4th. The art of singing; 5th. The art of writing; 6th. The art of calculating; and, 7th. The art of book-keeping."[43] Provided a student acquired these arts, his education was termed "perfect," even if he aspired to no further education.[44] The "seven arts" enabled him to grasp important functions of every-day life, a view consistent with Campbell's utilitarianism (see V,3,b). Campbell recommended that instruction in the seven arts conform to this "natural order" which benefitted the child because of the "necessarily facilitating improvement" that each art had for all the others. Their "intimacy" would guarantee maximum transference and would "mutually aid advancement in all." "The art of thinking" was first because of its broad application. Its composition--accurate observation, comparison, and deduction--required that "assiduous attention" be given it from the beginning to the end of the "course of primary instruction."[45]

---

[41] *MH* 1842, 16.

[42] *PLA*, 247-71; *MH* 1841, 433-80.

Campbell divided the general fields of knowledge into literature, the "knowledge of letters" (signs of thought); science, the "knowledge of things"; and art, the application of literary and scientific theories.[46] Since his "seven arts" were founded upon certain sciences and letters, to a "greater or less extent" some ought to be included in the course of study in the common school. Such were orthography, orthoepy, grammar, arithmetic, elements of geometry, algebra, music, and elocution.[47] Introducing such a variety of subjects would "startle" people whose educational outlook only encompassed "spelling, reading and writing and ciphering to the end of the rule-of-three." Their fears were unfounded, he assured them, since only the "essential" subjects would be taught, not "the entire range of these sciences." Furthermore, the eventual availability of qualified normal-school teachers would introduce a pedagogic conservation of time permitting "all this and more" to be "taught in the time usually spent in the common schools . . . ."[48]

---

[43] PLA, 254-55.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid., 255-56.

[46] Ibid., 127-29.

Beyond the seven arts and their supporting sciences, he recommended some other branches of "knowledge essential to a rational and useful common school course of instruction." Making up this polyglot of subjects were geography, zoology, natural history, certain topics of a social character, constitution and law, "a sketch of ancient and modern history," and a history of "our own country."[49] He advised including additional subjects to acquaint the student with his sentient, intellectual, and moral nature. At this point in the lecture "On Common Schools," Campbell digressed to recommend two books: Dr. Alcott's The House I Live In, for anatomical study, and the "Laws of Physical Science," author unidentified. Elsewhere in Campbell's writings he urged abstaining from "frivolous pastimes" and incorporating purposeful recreation. Planting gardens, cultivating flowers, hunting, fishing, and other sporting activities had his sanction.[50] Campbell was athletically inclined, and he strongly advocated physical exercise so as to escape the calamity of "learned invalids, mere green-house plants, unfit for the rugged business of a useful life."[51] Interest in individual competence rather than group participation probably prompted Campbell's recommendation for "swimming, riding and walking."[52] Since man's spirit was impressible by "its associations with other persons and their respective characters," fortuitous companionship was discouraged.[53]

---

[47] Ibid., 255.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid., 256.

Some of Campbell's chief complaints about the common schools were revealed in his recommendations on subject matter: he wanted a richer variety and a greater number. Although "reading and writing, next to religion and morality,"[54] were the most important subjects to be learned, he castigated those teachers who spent years "on the syntax and prosody of dead signs, while the syntax and prosody of the living things signified by those signs are neither studied nor known!"[55] An impoverished curriculum, shackled with too much repetition, resulted in impoverished students shackled with useless booklearning.[56] A mind thus deprived of proper development could not possibly receive proper impressions of deity since "the amount of knowledge they [spiritual impressions] impart depend upon the capacity of that mind to receive."[57] The proper materials taught at the proper time would go far in forming a properly educated man.

---

[50] MH 1840, 132.

[51] MH 1842, 158.

[52] MH 1840, 132.

[53] MH 1854, 65.

b. The College and Post-College Level Recommendations. Campbell made only the most general recommendations on collegiate subject matter. An examination of Bethany's early curriculum reveals a basically classical course of study with an Enlightenment maximum on science and history and a minimum of ancient language, metaphysics, and rhetoric--none of the latter by any means excluded. The first six professorships announced at Bethany in 1841 can be assumed to represent Campbell's preference; they covered six rather comprehensive areas of learning: (1) ancient languages and history, (2) algebra and general mathematics, (3) chemistry, geology, and "kindred" sciences, (4) natural philosophy and some other natural sciences, (5) mental philosophy, evidences of Christianity, morals, and political economy (all of these he initially taught), and (6) grammar, logic, rhetoric, and criticism.[58] The initial emphasis given to each of these six divisions in the curriculum is obscured by the smallness of the Bethany College student body (75-175) and faculty (6) before the Civil War.

---

[54] MH 1840, 132.

[55] Ibid., 131-32.

[56] MH 1834, 22; 1845, 320-21; 1846, 405-06; 1850, 16-18.

[57] MH 1850, 14-15.

Campbell regarded certain subject areas as most important. In his Baccalaureate Address of 1845, he enumerated several fields of knowledge and the accompanying books that were of special value to all the students in their further "self-education." History was "first in order because it was first in importance."[59] Believing that "the knowledge of facts is the most useful of all knowledge" (facts are the basis of the inductive method), and that the Bible "is the only authentic history in the world of almost half its existence,"[60] Campbell made a good case for history's primacy. His lectures were often historically ordered and so freighted with historical allusions that they could hardly have been as "popular" as he intended them.

---

[58] MH 1841, 377-78.

[59] MH 1845, 320.

[60] Ibid.; PLA, 306.

Robert Owen's survival through Campbell's historical wanderings during his "long speech" in the "Great Debate" redounds to Owen's good humor and endurance.[61]

As mentioned earlier (see V,3,b), Campbell had a great appreciation for the application of science to the every-day needs of man's comfort and improvement. Since the wealth of a community was largely the product of "science, industry and virtue," Campbell commended science to the students of Bethany where it stood high in the course of study. The method of science, of course, was a strong cord in Campbell's pragmatic, empirical fabric.[62]

Ranking above history and science was the study of the Bible. Treatment of the Bible at Bethany differed from that at any other college of which Campbell was aware.

> Bethany College is the only College known to us in the civilized world, founded upon the Bible. It is not a theological school, founded upon human theology, nor a school of divinity, founded upon the Bible; but a literary and scientific institution, founded upon the Bible as the basis of all true science and true learning.[63]

---

[61] In a transcription of five hundred pages, Campbell's twenty-second reply to Owen comprised roughly one hundred fifty pages. Owen referred to it courteously as a "full and elaborate development of the Christian religion." (Campbell and Owen, 437). What Owen admired most about Campbell was "his downright honesty and fairness in what he believes to be the cause of truth." (*Ibid*., 438).

[62] *MH* 1846, 407.

[63] *MH* 1850, 291. See p. 84 for previous citation.

A former student of Campbell's commented on Bethany's distinctive character:

> The students of the College will readily remember its most interesting feature--the morning lectures of the president. A chapter was read in the Bible by some student, selected in alphabetical order, and then commented upon by the president. During these lectures he in his latter years sat in his chair, and his remarks were of the easiest and most conversational character. He spoke with remarkable power and distinctness. Sitting in a plain arm-chair, with the Bible sometimes open and sometimes closed, upon a little table before him, Mr. Campbell's talk to the students would possess a vigor and eloquence in articulation seldom equalled by the most impassioned efforts of other speakers in the pulpit or on the orator's stand. Frequently the greater portion of the morning hour would be consumed on the philology of a single verse. Misconception of generic terms, Mr. Campbell always contended, had been the foundation of untold errors in Bible science. In all his debates, and in all conversations, not less than in these lectures, he, therefore, stated a proposition, stripped of every vestige of ambiguity, by compiling a definition of terms. These terms he would trace down to their roots in the dead languages. It was the privilege of all, and the custom of many students, to leave questions on his desk, and these were frequently made the subject of a lecture. Thus his intercourse, every morning with the whole number of students in attendance at the college was of such a character as to greatly endear him to them. At the close of each term the senior class were examined as thoroughly with reference to the morning lectures as they were upon the sciences and languages.[64]

Sounding very much like a "Great Books" advocate, Campbell advised students to choose carefully their reading material and to confine themselves to the "great master spirit and performer" in any field. "Every work of this sort which you thoroughly study and digest, is like adding another man to yourself."[65] Books without "a single new idea" were useless and unprofitable, and "much reading" for "much reading's sake" was objectionable. Although he daily read both English and French works, Campbell explained it as only a means to an end. Sensing the need for moderation in study, he urged students to keep a well balanced mental life, not to question everything, and yet not to make of themselves "confiding slaves of tradition and prescription."[66]

---

[64] **FLP**, 36-37.

Campbell's advocacy of the Bible-based liberal arts college was not fully understood by all his contemporaries.[67] Many who commended his biblical emphasis saw something sinister in his liberal arts appreciation. Some advocates of liberal arts colleges with accompanying theological seminaries saw something provincial in Campbell's belief that every educated person needed a thorough Bible education. Right or wrong, Campbell wanted to combine both in a "New Literary and Moral Institution." He justified the liberal arts because they freed "the human mind from vulgar prejudices, ignorance, and error." More important, however, their generality of "character and application" opened to man "an extensive acquaintance with literature, science and art." Most important, they furnished man "with the means of extending our acquaintance with nature, society, and the Bible, to any extent commensurate with the wants of our nature and the limits of our existence."[68] Campbell sought an expansive intellectual landscape on which to build his educational edifice, because narrow education could not accommodate the development of a truly great man--a "being of great understanding, of great benevolence, of great piety and of high aspirations after every species and form of moral excellency."[69] As a consequence, Bethany granted diplomas only to seniors who qualified intellectually and morally; attestation of both appeared on each graduate's diploma.[70]

---

[65] MH 1845, 323.

[66] Ibid., 324.

[67] Miyakawa, 89, 104, 150-51.

4. The Four Teachers. Professional teachers had limited access to the student. Only certain hours of the student's day and certain years of his development came under the teacher's direction. Since a student learned both good and bad from that which surrounded him, and since he was always surrounded by something, all of life became his instructor. Campbell delineated four classes of "teachers" whose activities spanned the breadth of human experience.

a. Mother Nature. "Mother Nature" first instructed man. "Her first effort is to arrest the attention of her pupil. This she does by salting him with oxygen as soon as he enters her portico." Revealing his propensity for the school of Common Sense Realism, Campbell noted that she "deals not in abstract essences and remote principles, but in all her concrete forms makes him feel and take an interest in all her instructions."[71] Man necessarily received impressions from Mother Nature before he was capable of making his own. Man "feels before he thinks." Because this "talented school mistress" approached the "inward man by the outward," her instruction of man would ultimately permit the "Great Spirit" to operate upon the human mind. Through exposure of the senses to the pervasiveness and unity of God's nature, the child acquired a greater sense of God's greatness and goodness.[72]

---

[68] MH 1849, 433.

[69] Ibid., 442.

[70] MH 1841, 271; 1842, 82, 287; 1844, 431-32.

b. The Mother in the Home. During the preschool years, the mother in the home managed the overall training of the child and, in particular, the development of the child's early moral sensitivity. After a lengthy historical parade of famous mothers, Campbell, in an essay on motherhood and the Bible, entitled "Amelioration of the Social State,"[73] concluded that Monsieur Guizot and all other western writers had overlooked

> two superlative agencies in the amelioration of the social state; they are woman and the Bible; or if any pleases to make but one out of two, it

---

[71] MH 1835, 152-53.

[72] Ibid.

[73] PLA, 47-72.

is the Bible in the hand and heart of woman.[74] Womanhood was to society what the spirit was to the body.[75] Morally dead womanhood meant a dead society. The influence of womanhood, especially motherhood, throughout history had reached into high places. Excepting only one orphan, Campbell wagered

> that never was a nation, a state or empire--not even an administration, save that of General Jackson--that was not more or less reared or ruined, strengthened or weakened, controlled or managed, by the policy, the skill or the dexterity of woman.[76]

Campbell divided womanhood into the four sequential phases of childhood, sisterhood, wifehood, and motherhood, the last being the one of greatest influence.[77] It was "hers to wield a mild and gracious sceptre over the moral destinies of our race." Her "superior sensitiveness" in moral endowments particularly qualified her to work with children since they responded to the "delicacies of all her susceptibilities of moral influence." Motherhood "sows the seed, she plants the germs of human goodness and human greatness. She infixes the generous purpose, the salutary and noble principles in the youthful heart."[78] In view of such enormous responsibilities, "female education [was] indispensible to the full and proper amelioration of the social state" and the proper development of the child's moral powers.[79] Since woman in the home taught, she needed to be taught, even in preference to the man, if necessary.[80]

---

[74] Ibid., 55.

[75] Ibid., 56.

[76] Ibid., 59.

[77] Ibid., 63.

[78] Ibid., 71-72.

c. The Teacher in the Classroom. The primary role of the classroom teacher was to "create an appetite for learning and virtue."[81] A student, "a creature capable of appreciating and being influenced by motive," required proper motivation to attract and focus his attention.[82] Campbell stressed the significance of the teacher in the building of mind and character.

> It is mind alone that works on mind. It is educated mind that educates mind. It is living men and living books that quicken, inspire, develop, energize and polish mind. It is not theory nor a dead letter that animates and actuates the faculties of man. It is the animation of the teacher that animates the student. . . . It is the present living generation that gives character and spirit to the next. Hence the paramount importance of accomplished and energetic teachers in forming the taste, the manners and the character of the coming age.[83]

Because teachers needed to teach properly, they should be properly taught in a normal school. His "Address on Colleges" (Cincinnati, 1856) emphasized "that no class of men . . . have more of the good or evil destiny of the world in their hands . . . than the teachers of our schools and colleges."[84] Even the preacher had less influence because of his restriction to "one day a week." The teacher would have "a power paramount in shaping the destinies of mankind, greatly superior to that of the priesthood and clergy of this age." The "noble calling" of the teacher bestowed on him the responsibility of sowing "the seeds of those holy principles which enlarge the understanding, purify the heart and adorn with high and holy virtues the life of man." Campbell pleaded with all teachers to "_permit_ their pupils, if not cause them, duly to listen to God speaking to them, teaching them and directing them in the path of life and honor and blessedness eternal."[85]

---

[79] Ibid.

[80] MH 1837, 257.

[81] MH 1845, 57.

[82] MH 1843, 497.

[83] PLA, 488.

Since the classroom teacher was to be a paradigm of virtue, he should be instructed by persons of good sense, good education, and above all of good morals.[86] For the same reason, the Bible was no more to be excluded from the normal school than from the common school. "The Bible should be introduced into every school, from the lowest to the highest, _only without denominational or sectarian comment_."[87] A teacher could not lead in biblical study if he had no knowledge of Scripture. That a normal school was included in the master plan for Bethany College indicates Campbell's interest in teacher education went beyond lip service.

---

[84] _Ibid_., 245.

[85] _Ibid_., 244-46.

[86] _MH_ 1845, 480; _PLA_, 479-81.

[87] _MH_ 1837, 568.

d. The Person Himself. Every person was also his own teacher (see V,3,b). Campbell believed that a person, upon leaving the immediate environment of the home and school, should have acquired an education enabling him "to think, to feel, and to act in perfect harmony with his own constitution, and with the constitution of nature and society around him . . . ."[88] A self-made man did not exist;[89] nevertheless, the responsibility for further education in adulthood rested on the shoulders of the individual. Campbell reminded the graduating class of 1855 that although not one of them had "mastered" their studies while at Bethany, "the means of self-education, to any limit you may reasonably propose to yourselves" was within their province.[90] Diplomas represented the "plenary authority to become self-educators" in two ways: in general, to learn in the vocation of living, and specifically, to choose and develop a professional calling. The broad, classical course of study at Bethany equipped students with "the premises necessary to guide" them through all the "sophistry of error, through all the allurements of vice, and through all the impulsions of passion." Their "capital of learning and science" would make them "useful, honorable, and happy members of society."[91]

---

[88] MH 1836, 583.

[89] MH 1855, 424.

[90] Ibid.

Frightened by what seemed a growing Catholic menace, Campbell reminded his followers that the Protestant society, of which they were a part, thrived on inquiry and dissent. But, asked Campbell, "who protests without reflection, comparison, deduction, and some degree of mental independence, as well as of self-reliance?"[92] The elements of human greatness--"self-thinking and self-reliance"--gave each man the hope of improving himself and his condition. It was unfortunate but true that when some people were "thinking," they were actually "listening to some other one thinking, speaking or moving within them . . . ."[93] Because the "priesthood of the East and West" had warned their parishioners against reading Campbell's Christian Baptist, he challenged them: the people should be able to "read, examine and judge for themselves" whether or not his writings were "injurious to their souls." If they were "injurious," the blame was to be placed at the doorstep of the religious "authorities" who should have "instructed their hearers better."[94]

---

[91] Ibid., 427.

[92] PLA, 32; Posey, 76, 102-03.

[93] PLA, 32.

[94] CB II, 3.

> What would we think of a teacher of grammar or arithmetic, who, after spending seven, seventeen, or twenty-seven years in teaching his pupils those sciences, should afterwards express a great fear of their reading any treatise on those same sciences, which had for its object the approbation or reprobation of his instructions? Would he not, *ipso facto*, betray himself?[95]

The properly educated man was the self-educating man. With his fully developed human powers focused upon the "polar star" of the Bible, he could successfully sail his ship of life toward the certain shores of personal, social, and eternal fulfillment.

5. *Summary*. Campbell was student-centered in so far as he believed that the student's God-given constitution had to be properly analyzed and understood before his moral susceptibilities could be maximized. The student's whole physical, intellectual, and moral nature had to be identified with God, the architect of man and morality.

Campbell was subject-centered to the extent that he believed certain subject matter developed man's God-given faculties, enabling a person to grasp moral truth found in the Bible. Specific secular subject matter lacked inherent worth except as it facilitated the acquisition of morality which in turn led to man's real usefulness and happiness in life (see V,2,a and b). Ultimately, any subject matter must yield to the student's need. The study of history facilitated understanding the Bible, which was largely history.

---

[95] *Ibid*.

Science's inductive method, applied to the Bible, made its truth available. Of course nothing was as valuable as direct Bible study which had as its objective the student's moral edification.

Campbell was teacher-centered to the degree that he believed instruction was not only essential, but in another sense, inescapable. Inevitably, after leaving nature, mother, and the schoolroom teacher, the student had to instruct himself. Failure to instruct himself in bringing the Bible to bear upon all his personal, social, and eternal relationships would leave him hopelessly ruined. Proper analysis of the student's constitution and potential, proper subjects to develop his receptivity to biblical moral instruction, and proper moral instruction, both by others and one's self, indicate Campbell's preoccupation with the student.

Campbell acknowledged the influence of John Locke, Francis Bacon, and John Newton on his educational thought (see IV,2,a; IV,4). Scarcely mentioned by name but nevertheless evident in substance were other giants of educational theory. Campbell encouraged kind treatment of children, fitting subject matter to the student's needs, training the senses, and developing personal piety, views closely resembling those of Moravian bishop, Johann Amos Comenius.[96]

---

[96] R. Freeman Butts, A Cultural History of Western Education (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955), pp. 236-39; Richard E. Gross, ed., Heritage of American

Comenius (1592-1671) displayed a growing social awareness, and John Pestalozzi (1746-1827), the great Swiss pedagogue, postulated man's social advancement upon the "intelligence and goodness" of education; Campbell likewise made morality the foundation of social progress. Understanding individual student development and implementing specialized teacher training were for Campbell, as for Pestalozzi, an educational must.[97] Phillip (De)Fellenburg (1771-1844), a disciple of Pestalozzi, impressed Campbell with the "necessity of reforming" education through the "formation of moral character."[98] To Campbell the mind was something more than the "apperceptive mass" of sensory impressions advocated by Johann F. Herbart, German philosopher and psychologist (1776-1841). However, both Herbart and Campbell viewed the content of the mind as something essentially built out of sensory impressions under the environmental control of the teacher. Campbell's concern for proper instructional and learning methods was likewise similar to that of Herbart.[99] Views of Friedrich Froebel (1782-1852), German and Swiss educator in the tradition of Pestalozzi, were reflected in Campbell's belief that education's ultimate aim was to unite man with God by means of superintending the potenti-

---

Education (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962), pp. 302-04.

[97] Butts, 398-402.

[98] MH 1840, 155.

[99] Butts, 404-06; Gross, 304-05.

alities of the student.[100] How many of these educators Campbell was acquainted with is impossible to say, but he was impressed in general with the "flattering experiments [in education] . . . made in Switzerland and Germany."[101]

The interest of John Milton (1608-1674) in vocational education, the attacks of Juan Luis Vives (1492-1540) on educational traditions, the plea of Victor Cousin (1792-1867) and Francois Guizot (1787-1874) for Bible training in the schools, and the belief of Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) in the moral benefits of rural life are reflected in Campbell's statements on education.[102] The parallels between the views of these men and those of Campbell leave little doubt that Campbell travelled in good company while forming his educational ideas. Undoubtedly, Campbell's educational roots ran deeply into the mainstream of educational thought. He had hoped, of course, that his branching out would bare a fruit peculiarly his.

---

[100] Butts, 402-04; Gross, 306.

[101] MH 1842, 158.

[102] MH 1845, 323; 1849, 440; 1835, 22; PLA, 259, 55, 146.

PART V

CONCLUSION

Chapter VII

THE FINALE

1. Findings. The sage of Bethany kept one educational foot in the Enlightenment via his philosophical view (see IV,2,a) while he planted the other foot into nineteenth-century American humanism via his concern for the child in the educative process. If one pragmatically solved biblical problems by bringing the Bible to bear upon them, as Campbell contended (see III,2,b), then no less did one solve the problems of education by bringing education to bear upon them. Any solution to educational problems necessitated that education, being moral in objective, derive its content from the Bible. Since God was the master teacher of morality, to ignore His textbook, the Bible, was morally fatal. Human experience evolved moral problems which were solved by bringing divine truth to bear upon them.

Although Alexander Campbell and John Dewey were years apart chronologically and miles apart philosophically, they both held that morality was the paramount objective of education. Being pragmatists, they would use any legitimate means to acquire the end of moral endowment. Dewey claimed to be a relativist. But when he insisted that the tool of criticized human experience was a sufficient means by which to criticize other human experience, he was as much a dogmatist as Campbell, who believed that biblical truth was a sufficient tool by which to criticize human experience. Being empiricists, they believed that man could know only that which came out of experience. However, the line was drawn between Dewey, the naturalist, and Campbell, the supernaturalist, by what was truly part of experience. Campbell found God inextricably involved in the meaning of human experience; Dewey did not, at least not in the same way.

Dewey, as an open-ended philosopher, took the best alternative that criticized human experience could evolve as his moral directive. Campbell, on the other hand, was confident that only a morality criticized by its chief architect by means of the Bible could result in proper human experience. The Book of God for Campbell and the Book of Human Experience for Dewey were the respective experiential bases for their adventures into moral education. Both were willing to modify their moral direction, if, in the case of Dewey, he could find warrantable human probability, and if, in the case of Campbell, he could verify biblical guidance.

Campbell would probably have mixed emotions about twentieth-century education in the United States. Like Dewey, Campbell saw each vocation in life worthy of honor and preparation. What a man could do was what a man could become. Campbell's disdain of dead languages at the expense of the "living," of rote memory at the expense of independent investigation, and of metaphysical investigation at the expense of the scientific and inductive method would make him comfortable in America's utilitarian oriented approach to education.

He would not be too surprised that schools play a larger part in the moral shaping of children; he urged it and believed that it could happen in his day. That in general schools are now biblically neutral and do not purport to base their moral training on the Bible _per se_ would greatly disappoint Campbell but not altogether defeat him. Undoubtedly he would contend that much of contemporary moral education, in spite of its claim to secularity, is nevertheless based upon biblical principles plagiarized from the Book of God. While taking exception to some of their actions, Campbell might point with pride to a portion of this generation who share pacifist views similar to his.

The integration of moral and intellectual culture in the twentieth-century classroom would undoubtedly please Campbell; he consistently pleaded for it. The expressed objective of progressive education to educate the "whole child" was at the heart of Campbell's theory of moral education. Unless the child was taught "_the origin_, _the nature_, _the relations_, _the obligations and the destiny of man_," the "whole child" had not been educated.[1] Campbell undoubtedly would assert that educating the "whole child" was only an ideal--a cliché--rather than a reality; and to substitute an ostensibly humanistic morality for biblical morality would add insult to injury.

---

[1] _PLA_, 99.

In spite of his probable disappointment over the absence of the Bible from the heart of the public school curriculum, Campbell would not be too surprised. He had warned that unless the Bible was studied in a nonsectarian manner, there could be no agreement as to how it should be studied. In fact, in his religious revolt Campbell's solution for getting at the root of the problem lay in grubbing out sectarianism per se, rather than in trying to lob off its branches at the school door. Ironically, Mann, Campbell, and others ultimately lost their bid for nonsectarian Bible study on this very issue. Some church forces felt the Bible too sacrosanct and peculiar to their religious sect (or denomination) to permit it to be studied generally without their accompanying commentary. Other nonchurch forces felt that sectarianism was inseparable from the Bible; to study the Bible was to study sectarianism in disguise. Campbell would lament that the baby (the Bible) was thrown out with the bath (sectarianism) but the prophet would want to say, "I told you so!" Given the opportunity, Campbell probably would have preferred sectarianism in the public school to that of humanism. But since he labeled sectarianism as another brand of humanism, one could not expect him to be overjoyed even with this prospect. No one expects the Bible to enter the classroom for the same reasons that Campbell advocated. But should it return to the classroom, it would be studied after a fashion similar to Campbell's: read it like the Iliad, use the commonsense rules of literary interpretation, and let the content recommend itself to the reader's reason.

2. Recommendations. In the preparation of this dissertation, certain studies would have been most helpful.

a. A study dealing with Campbell's moral principles and culture and their biblical bases would help to clarify the prescriptive aspect of his moral viewpoint.

b. The relationship between Campbell's empirical theory of knowledge and the work of the Holy Spirit before, during, and especially *after* conversion needs careful investigation.

c. Besides Garrison's *The Theology of Alexander Campbell*, no extensive study exists to show Campbell's agreement with Locke's philosophical and theological thought and at what spots Lockean doctrine was modified to fit Campbell's more evangelical posture. A gap would be filled by such a study.

d. A rewarding study would result from a comparison of Campbell's ideas on evangelism with those of the revivalists of his era.

e. Campbell's pragmatism, as emerging from his philosophical-theological roots and the middle frontier in the scheme of American intellectual thought, needs further study.

3. A Final Word. Campbell deserves to be heard on moral education. The middle frontier was the better for Campbell's having passed its way. He gave a richness and vivacity to its thought, and in a sense added his page to an important chapter in American educational and religious thought. Although at times American education has taken a tack different from the one Campbell would have steered, his educational thought often made the same ports of call. But Campbell feared that the last port of call would be missed unless mankind heard the unerring voice of God and reason, the Bible, and was directed by it. Campbell was anxious that, through biblically based moral education, a steady signal would be early sighted and clearly followed so that man might be led to God and to a glorious finale.

> There is but one book in the world that teaches us the will of God, and impossible is it for us to do the will of God if we do not know it; and impossible it is to know it, but by the study of the volume that contains it. How needful, then, that we give to the study of that book our best powers; that in youth we suffer its pure and heavenly principles to strike deep into our hearts--to diffuse its renovating and vivifying influence through our moral frame, and thus to plant in our bosoms the precious seeds of immortal bliss, which are to bud and blossom, and to bring forth fruit to eternity.[2]

---

[2] MH 1837, 260.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. *Writings of Alexander Campbell*.

A. BOOKS

Campbell, Alexander. *Christian Baptism: With Its Antecedents and Consequents*. St. Louis: John Burns, Publisher, 1882.

_______. *The Christian Preacher's Companion, or the Gospel Facts Sustained by the Testimony of Unbelieving Jews and Pagans*. Bethany, Va.: M'Vay & Ewing, 1836, reprinted [n.n.], Centreville, Ky., 1891.

_______. *The Christian System in Reference to the Union of Christians and Restoration of Primitive Christianity as Plead by the Current Reformation*. 2nd ed., St. Louis: Christian Board of Publication, 1839.

_______. *Christianity Restored*. Bethany, Va., 1835, reprinted by Old Paths Book Club, Rosemead, Calif., 1959.

_______. *A Debate between Rev. A. Campbell and Rev. N. L. Rice on the Action, Subject, Design, and Administration of Christian Baptism; also on The Character of Spiritual Influence in Conversion and Sanctification, and on The Expediency and Tendency of Ecclesiastic Creeds as Terms of Union and Communion*. Lexington, Ky.: A. T. Skillman & Son, 1844.

_______. *A Debate on the Roman Catholic Religion, Held in the Sycamore-Street Meeting House, Cincinnati, from the 13th to the 21st of January, 1837, between Alexander Campbell of Bethany, Va., and the Rt. Rev. John B. Purcell, Bishop of Cincinnati*. Cincinnati: J. A. James & Co., 1837, reprinted by Bosworth, Chase and Hall, Cincinnati, 1870.

_______. *Familiar Lectures on the Pentateuch; Delivered before the Morning Class of Bethany College, During the Session of 1859-60, Also Short Extracts from His Sermons during the Same Session, To Which is Prefixed A Brief Sketch of President Campbell's Life*. Edited by W. T. Moore. Cincinnati: Bosworth, Chase and Hall, 1871, reprinted by Old Paths Book Club, Rosemead, Calif., 1958.

Writings of Alexander Campbell (continued)

________. *Infant Sprinkling Proved To Be a Human Tradition; Being the Substance of a Debate on Christian Baptism, between Mr. John Walker, a Minister of the Secession, and Alexander Campbell, V.D.M., a Regular Baptist Minister, Held at Mount Pleasant, Jefferson County, Ohio, on the 19th and 20th June, 1820, in the Presence of a Very Numerous and Respectable Congregation, to Which Is Added a Large Appendix*. Steubenville, Ohio: James Wilson, 1820.

________. *Memoirs of Elder Thomas Campbell, Together With a Brief Memoir of Mrs. Jane Campbell*. Cincinnati: H. S. Bosworth, 1861.

________. *Popular Lectures and Addresses*. Philadelphia: James Challen & Son, 1863, reprinted by Standard Publishing Company, Cincinnati, [n.d.].

________. *The Sacred Writings of the Apostles and Evangelists of Jesus Christ, Commonly Styled The New Testament. Translated from the Original Greek, by Doctors George Campbell, James Macknight and Philip Doddridge, With Prefaces, Various Emendations and An Appendix*. Bethany, Va.: [n.n.], 1832, reprinted by Harbinger Book Club, Nashville, 1951.

________, and Robert Owen. *The Evidences of Christianity; A Debate between Robert Owen, of New Lanark, Scotland and Alexander Campbell, President of Bethany College, Va., Containing An Examination of the "Social System" and All the Systems of Skepticism of Ancient and Modern Times*. Bethany, Alexander Campbell, 1829, reprinted by McQuiddy Printing Company, Nashville, 1946.

B. PERIODICALS

Campbell, Alexander (ed.). *The Christian Baptist*. Vol. I: Buffaloe Creek, Va.: Buffaloe Printing Office, 1823-1824; Vols. II and III: Buffaloe, Va.: Buffaloe Printing Office, 1824-1826; Vols. IV, V, VI, and VII: Bethany, Va.: Bethany Printing Office, 1826-1830. Reprinted by Gospel Advocate Company, Nashville, 1955.

________, (ed.). *The Millennial Harbinger*. Bethany, Va.: Alexander Campbell, 1830-1864.

II. Additional Sources.

A. BOOKS

Abbott, B. A. The Disciples, an Interpretation. St. Louis: The Bethany Press (Christian Board of Publication), 1924.

Ambler, Charles. A History of Education in West Virginia. Huntington, W. Va.: Standard Printing and Publishing Co., 1951.

Athearn, Clarence A. The Religious Education of Alexander Campbell, Morning Star of the Coming Reformation. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1828.

Barnard, Henry. American Educational Biography. Syracuse, N. Y.: C. W. Bardeen, [n.d.].

Beard, Charles A. and Mary R. The Rise of American Civilization. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927.

Bell, Sadie. The Church, The State, and Education in Virginia. Philadelphia: The Science Press Printing Company, 1930.

Bourne, Henry Richard Fox. The Life of John Locke. Vols. I and II. London: Henry S. King & Co., 1876.

Brauner, Charles J. American Educational Theory. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1964.

Brinton, Ronald H. The Travail of Religious Liberty. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951.

Brown, Elmer E. The Making of Our Middle Schools. New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1903.

Brown, Nicholas C. (ed.). The Study of Religion in the Public Schools, An Appraisal. Washington, D.C.: The American Council on Education, 1958.

Burtt, Edwin A. The English Philosophers from Bacon to Mill. New York: The Modern Library, Random House, Inc., 1939.

Bushnell, Horace. Christian Nurture. New York: Charles Scribner, 1861.

Butts, R. Freeman. A Cultural History of Western Education. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1955.

Additional Sources (continued)

_______, and Lawrence A. Cremin. A History of Education in American Culture. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1953.

Cochran, Louis. The Fool of God. New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1958.

Cullmann, Oscar. Christ and Time. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1950.

Darwin, Charles. The Descent of Man. Great Books of the Western World, Chicago: Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc., 1952.

DeGroot, A. T. Disciple Thought: A History. Fort Worth, Tex.: Texas Christian University, 1965.

Dewey, John. Human Nature and Conduct. New York: Random House, Inc., 1922.

Dunn, William K. What Happened to Religious Education? The Decline of Religious Education in the Public Elementary School, 1776-1861. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1958.

Fowler, Thomas. John Locke. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1899.

Fraser, A. Campbell. Thomas Reid. Edinburgh, Scotland: Oliphant, Anderson and Ferrier, 1898.

Garrison, Winfred E. An American Religious Movement. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1957.

_______. The Sources of Alexander Campbell's Theology. St. Louis: Christian Publishing Company, 1900.

_______, and Alfred T. DeGroot. The Disciples of Christ, A History. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1958.

Gaustad, Edwin Scott. Historical Atlas of Religion in America. New York: Harper and Row, 1962.

Gibson, James. Locke's Theory of Knowledge and Its Historical Relations. Cambridge: University Press, 1917.

Gross, Richard E. (ed.). Heritage of American Education. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962.

Additional Sources (continued)

Handlin, Oscar, *et al*. *Harvard Guide to American History*. Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1963.

Heatwole, Cornelius. *A History of Education in Virginia*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916.

Hinsdale, B. A. *Horace Mann and The Common School Revival in the United States*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898.

Hodge, Frederick A. *John Locke and Formal Discipline*. Lynchburg, Va.: J. B. Bell Company, 1911.

Hofstadter, Richard, and Walter P. Metzger. *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955.

_______, and Wilson Smith. *American Higher Education*. Vols. I and II. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Hubbell, George Allen. *Horace Mann*. Philadelphia: Wm. F. Fell Company, 1910.

Hudson, Winthrop J. *American Protestantism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961.

Humble, Bill S. *Alexander Campbell and Controversy*. Rosemead, Calif.: Old Paths Book Club, 1952.

Jones, Olin McKendree. *Empiricism and Intuitionism in Reid's Common Sense Philosophy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1927.

Locke, John. *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Russell Kirk. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1956.

_______. *The Reasonableness of Christianity as Delivered in the Scriptures*. Edited by George W. Ewing. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company, 1965.

Longan, George W. *Origin of the Disciples of Christ*. St. Louis: Christian Publishing Co., 1889.

Lunger, Harold L. *The Political Ethics of Alexander Campbell*. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1954.

Additional Sources (continued)

Maddox, William Arthur. The Free School Idea in Virginia Before The Civil War. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1918.

Mann, Mary Peabody. Life of Horace Mann. Centennial Edition. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association of the United States, 1937.

McCluskey, Neil G. Public Schools and Moral Education. New York: Columbia University, 1958.

McLean, Archibald. Alexander Campbell as a Preacher. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1908, reprinted by Baker Book House, Grand Rapids, 1955.

McNeill, John T. The History and Character of Calvinism. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Miller, Perry. The Life of the Mind in America. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1965.

Miyakawa, T. Scott. Protestants and Pioneers. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1964.

Moore, William Thomas. A Comprehensive History of the Disciples of Christ. New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1909.

Morris, Van Cleve. Philosophy and the American School. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1961.

O'Connor, D. J. A Critical History of Philosophy. London: The Free Press of Glencoe, Collier-Macmillan Limited, 1964.

Parrington, Louis Vernon. Main Currents in American Thought. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1958.

Passmore, John. A Hundred Years of Philosophy. London: Gerald Duckworth & Co., 1957.

Paxson, Frederick L. History of the American Frontier. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1924.

Posey, Walter Brownlow. Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier. Louisiana State University Press, 1965.

Additional Sources (continued)

Price, J. M., *et al*. *A Survey of Religious Education*. New York: Ronald Press, 1959.

Price, Kingsley. *Education and Philosophical Thought*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1962.

Ray, D. B. *Text Book of Campbellism*. Cincinnati: George E. Stevens & Co., 1873.

Reid, Thomas. *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*. Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co., 1864.

Reinhardt, Kurt F. *Germany: 2000 Years*. Vol. II: "The Second Empire and the Weimar Republic." New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing Co., 1961.

Reisner, Edward H. *The Evolution of the Common School*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930.

Richardson, Robert. *Memoirs of Alexander Campbell*. Cincinnati: Standard Publishing Company, 1897.

Rusk, Ralph Leslie. *The Literature of the Middle Western Frontier*. 2 Vols. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926.

Russell, John E. *The Philosophy of Locke*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1891.

Sandburg, Carl. *Abraham Lincoln: The Prairie Years and the War Years*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1954.

Schmidt, George P. *The Liberal Arts College*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1957.

Smith, H. Shelton (ed.). *Horace Bushnell*. A Library of Protestant Thought. New York: Oxford University Press, 1965.

_______, *et al*. *American Christianity: Interpretation and Documents*. 2 Vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, Vol. I, 1960, Vol. II, 1963.

Stewart, Dugald. *The Collected Works*. Edited by Sir William Hamilton. Edinburgh: Thomas Constable and Co., 1854.

Additional Sources (continued)

Strong, Josiah. *Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis*. New York: The Baker & Taylor Co., 1885, reprinted by John Harvard Library, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1963.

Sweet, William Warren. *Religion in the Development of American Culture, 1765-1840*. Vol. II of History of Religion in America Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952.

Tewksbury, Donald G. *The Founding of American Colleges and Universities Before the Civil War*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932.

Thistlethwaite, Frank. *The Anglo-American Connection in the Early Nineteenth Century*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1959.

Tyler, Alice Felt. *Freedom's Ferment*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1962.

Werkmeister, W. H. *The History of Philosophical Ideas in America*. New York: The Ronald Press, 1949.

Wertenbaker, T. J. *Early Scotch Contributions of the United States*. Glasgow: Jackson, Son & Co., 1945.

West, Robert Frederick. *Alexander Campbell and Natural Religion*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948.

Windelband, Wilhelm. *A History of Philosophy*. Vol. II, Renaissance, Enlightenment, Modern. New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1958.

Woolery, W. K. *Bethany Years*. Huntington, W. Va.: Standard Printing and Publishing Company, 1941.

Wright, Louis B. *Culture on a Moving Frontier*. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Press, 1955.

Wynne, John P. *Theories of Education*. New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1963.

B. PERIODICALS

Fitch, Alger M. Jr. "Recent Developments in the Study of Alexander Campbell," *Christian Standard*, March 13, 1965, pp. 3-4.

Additional Sources (continued)

Lammiman, Boyd E. "A Bird's-eye View of the Early History of the Restoration Movement," Christian Standard, May 6, 1950, pp. 11-12.

Lard, Moses E. (ed.). Lard's Quarterly, Vol. III. Lexington, Ky.:[n.n.], 1866. Reproduced by Old Paths Book Club, Kansas City, Mo., 1950.

C. UNPUBLISHED MATERIALS

Alder, George. "Alexander Campbell's Invention in the Debate with Robert Owen." Unpublished M.A. thesis, San Jose State College, San Jose, Calif., 1959.

Cuff, Sister May Louise. "The Limitations of the Educational Theory of John Locke Especially for the Christian Teacher." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Catholic Sisters College of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C., 1920.

Edwards, Arthur B. "Alexander Campbell's Philosophy of Education." Unpublished M.A. thesis, East Tennessee State College, 1960.

Yeager, Herman Vincent. "The Scottish Common-Sense Philosophy as a Factor in American Education." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, School of Education, Stanford University, 1959.